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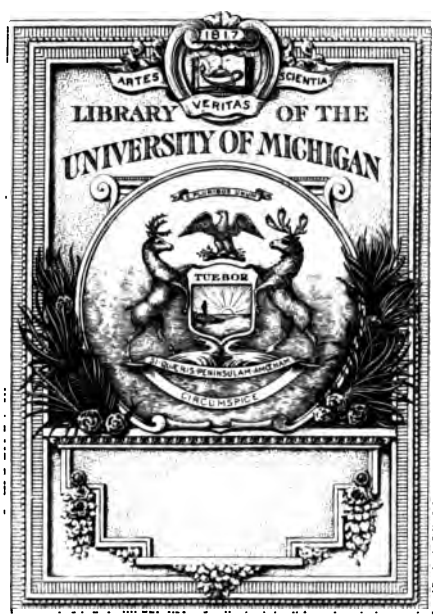
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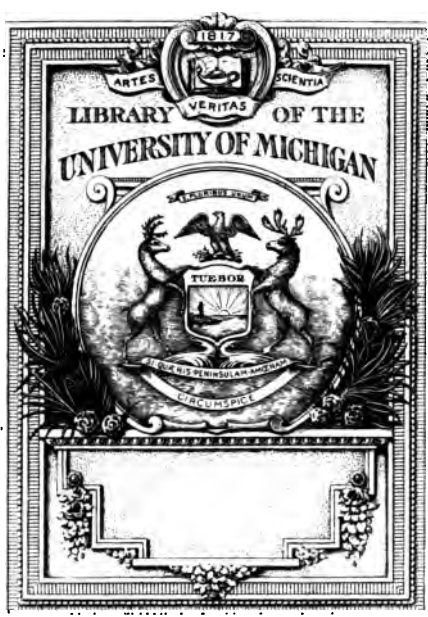
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*TITLED CORRUPTION*

"The majority of Irish titles are historically connected with memories not of honour, but of shame."—LECKY'S *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, iv. p. 518.

# TITLED CORRUPTION

*THE SORDID ORIGIN OF  
SOME IRISH PEERAGES*

BY  
J. G. SWIFT MAC NEILL, Q.C., M.P.

M.A. CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S  
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OF CONSTITUTIONAL AND CRIMINAL LAW IN  
THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF THE  
KING'S INNS, DUBLIN

‘Nobilitus solu est atque unica virtus.’—JUVENAL, *Sat.* viii.

LONDON  
T. FISHER UNWIN  
PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1894

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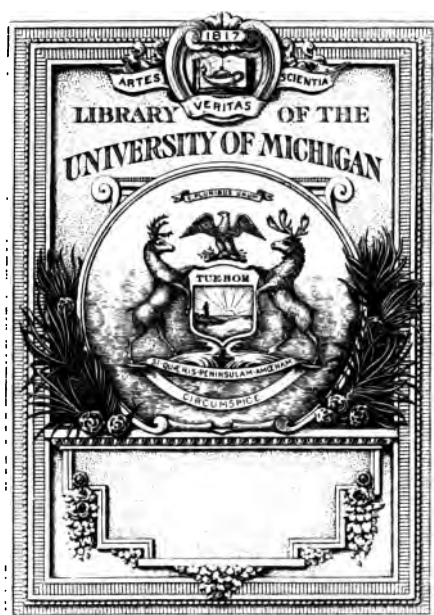
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## PREFACE.

*The articles embodied in this work appeared originally in the columns of the public press. They were written at considerable intervals, and my aim was that each article should in itself form a separate study, independent of its predecessors or successors in the series. The articles are accordingly reproduced in the order in which they were written without regard to historical sequence. This will account for the somewhat abrupt transitions by which the reader is invited to pass from the perusal of one article to another.*

*It must not, however, be supposed that I have taken pains in the selection of the Peerages whose origin I have attempted to describe. They are largely taken up haphazard, and are not cases of exceptional corruption, but are rather types of the character of the ordinary Irish Peerage. I am confident that I could have placed before the public many Peerages whose creation was due to circumstances quite as discreditable if not transcending in iniquity the origins of the titles I have endeavoured to trace.*

*The matured judgment of Mr. Lecky, the Unionist historian on the Irish Peerages, which I have placed facing the title-page of this book, and which I took for my text in each article on its original publication, is in itself a suffi-*



*with a serious countenance that a gentleman is entitled to obstruct and thwart the wishes of the House of Commons from the fact of his holding a Peerage which is in some instances the reward of shame and dishonour, and in some even of crime, and thus being enabled to sit in the House of Lords, or to vote for the election of Representative Peers in that assembly.*

*I have taken every pains to acknowledge the authorities from whom I have obtained information. My very special obligations are, however, due to Mr. Lecky, who in his historical conclusions has displayed, having regard to his strong political views, a majestic impartiality. To Mr. W. F. Fitzpatrick, whose works have rendered the study of Irish history delightful, I am also most deeply indebted.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS,  
June 7, 1894.



## I.

### *LORD ASHTOWN.*

FIFTY-NINE years after the Union it was thought safe to publish an expurgated edition of the private correspondence of the Marquess Cornwallis, who was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland at the time of the passing of that measure. In the Cornwallis Correspondence there is a list of the peerages conferred for "services" in connection with the Union. In that list there stands the name of Lord Ashtown, created a peer December 27, 1800.

The infamy of this gentleman's conduct was such that Mr. Lecky, writing in 1890, omits his name from the pages of his history. The Irish Parliament met on January 22, 1799, when an amendment to the Address to the Throne, moved by Mr. Ponsonby, maintaining "the undoubted birthright of the Irish people to have a resident and independent Legislature," was rejected by a majority of one, being supported by 105 votes and opposed by 106.

"One member," says Mr. Lecky, "near the close of the debate, after an ambiguous and hesitating speech, announced his intention of voting for the amendment of the Opposition. Shortly before the division he rose

again to say that he was convinced that he had been mistaken, and would now vote with the Ministers. Barrington states that it was well known in the House that in the interval he had received from Lord Castlereagh the promise of the peerage he afterwards obtained " (*England in the Eighteenth Century*," viii. p. 343).

A reference to what Mr. Lecky in a footnote calls "the very graphic description" of this scene in Barrington's "*Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*" discloses the fact that the name of this venal miscreant was Frederick Trench, the first Lord Ashtown. Sir Jonah Barrington, who was a member of the Irish House of Commons, was an eye-witness of the conduct of Mr. Trench, which he thus records:—

"It was suspected that Mr. Trench had been long in negotiation with Lord Castlereagh, but it did not in the early part of that night appear to have been brought to any conclusion—his conditions were supposed to be too extravagant. Mr. Trench, after some preliminary observations, declared in a speech that he would vote against the Ministers. This appeared a stunning blow to Mr. Cooke (Lord Castlereagh's bribing agent), who had been previously in conversation with Mr. Trench. He was immediately observed sideling from his seat nearer to Lord Castlereagh. They whispered earnestly, and, as if restless and undecided, both looked wistfully towards Mr. Trench. At length the matter seemed to be determined on. Mr. Cooke retired to a back seat, and was obviously endeavouring to count the House, probably to guess if they could that night dispense with Mr. Trench's services. He re-

turned to Castlereagh. They whispered again, looked most affectionately at Mr. Trench, who seemed unconscious that he was the subject of their consideration. But there was no time to lose—the question was approaching. All shame was banished, they decided on the terms, and a significant and certain glance, obvious to everybody, convinced Mr. Trench that his conditions were agreed to. Mr. Cooke then went and sat down by his side. An earnest but very short conversation then took place; a parting smile completely told the House that Mr. Trench was that moment satisfied. These surmises were soon verified. Mr. Cooke went back to Lord Castlereagh — a congratulatory nod announced his satisfaction. . . . This change of sides, and the majority of one to which it contributed, were probably the remote causes of persevering in a Union.”

Sir Jonah Barrington's book was published in the lifetime of Lord Ashtown, on May 1, 1833. Lord Ashtown survived its publication exactly seven years, dying on May 1, 1840, but no refutation of this story was ever attempted.

## II.

### *LORD CASTLEMAINE.*

THE Union measure on its first introduction in the Irish Parliament in 1799 was defeated. A public dinner was arranged in Dublin to commemorate the popular triumph. It was attended by 110 members of Parliament. Amongst the members of Parliament was Mr. Handcock, the member for Athlone, who rendered himself very conspicuous. "He spoke strongly," according to the account of Sir Jonah Barrington who was present, "gave numerous anti-Union toasts, vowed his eternal hostility to so infamous a measure, pledged himself to God and man to resist it to extremities, and to finish and record his sentiments he had composed an anti-Union song of many stanzas—which he sang himself, with a genial chorus—to celebrate the patriotism of the meeting, and which was encored more than once by the company. From that day Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh marked him out as one of their opponents who should be gained over on any terms."

"Simple money would not do with Mr. Handcock. Lord Castlereagh endeavoured to persuade him that his principles were disloyal, his songs were seditious, that further opposition might end in treason—still he held

out until a title was added to the bribe—the vanity of his family lusted for nobility. He wavered, but he yielded.” He became a strong supporter of the Union, and was created Lord Castlemaine for his services. He died in 1889, six years after the publication of his name in Sir Jonah Barrington’s “Black List” with the following comment, which he never dared to contradict:—

“Will Handcock (Athlone). An extraordinary instance. He made and sang songs against the Union in 1799 at a public dinner of the Opposition, and made and sang songs for it in 1800. He got a peerage.”

### III.

#### *LORD HENNIKER.*

THE rotten boroughs in the Irish Parliament were frequently filled by Englishmen wholly unconnected with Ireland. Thus a General Henniker purchased from the patron a nomination borough, and sat in the Irish Parliament from 1797 till its destruction in 1800. He was a steady supporter of the Union.

Lord Cornwallis writes from Dublin to the Duke of Portland on June 3, 1800 :—

“Your Grace may be surprised to see the name of Sir John Henniker, who is not an Irishman, in my list for new [Irish] peerages, but as his son General Henniker came into Parliament here at his own expense and has been a steady supporter of the Union and assiduous in his attendance, and as it will a little suit my provincial politics in England to do a kindness to Sir John, I trust this promotion will not be disapproved.”

The peerage was conferred on July 30, 1800, on General Henniker's father, and descended in due course to the general, who obtained in addition a colonelcy of a regiment and £3,500 “compensation” for the loss of his seat in the Irish Parliament.

#### IV.

#### *LORD DE BLAQUIERE.*

COLONEL JOHN BLAQUIERE came over to Ireland as Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant in 1772. He quickly procured a seat for a rotten borough in the Irish House of Commons, and from that time till the Union in 1800 was one of the most shamelessly corrupt self-seekers in that assembly. He rather prided himself on his statesmanlike finesse. Thus, when the Lord-Lieutenant wrote to the Home Secretary that it would be very "inconvenient" to make Irish judges independent, Colonel Blaquiere appended the remark, "I was in the country when this extraordinary letter was written." When dismissed from the Secretaryship he still remained in Ireland as a speculator in political corruption. He was made a baronet in 1784 and an Irish Privy Councillor. At the time of the Union Sir John Blaquiere at a dinner party given by Lord Castlereagh, devised with the sanction of that nobleman an arrangement whereby some twenty or thirty members of the Irish House of Commons should dine together in one of the committee rooms, where they would always be at hand to make up a House or for any emergency that might arise. This combination developed into a fighting confederacy, every

member of which was pledged to pick a quarrel and fight a duel with some anti-Unionist. Lord Cornwallis recommended Blaquiere for the peerage to George III., "for having been repeatedly an object of the fury of the populace, who twice attacked his house, and for having kept the friends of the Union together by his great conviviality." Lord Camden wrote that he believed all the persons recommended would be made peers, "though Sir J. Blaquiere's creation is almost intolerable."

Mr. Marsden, a bribing agent of Castlereagh, wrote to Mr. Cooke, the chief agent for the corruption of the Irish Parliament, in reference to the arrangements effected with Sir John Blaquiere, whom he terms "a true black" punning on his name.

"Blaquiere's business has," Marsden says, "been very unpleasant. I succeeded yesterday in a final adjustment with him to the satisfaction of all parties. He played the true black in the business, but all things considered we have got well out of it."

Lord Castlereagh states that Blaquiere "contented himself with an Irish peerage, and waived his claim for a representative peerage for more substantial (*sic*) objects." The editor of the Cornwallis Correspondence states that the "objects" thus alluded to were a pension of £1,000 per annum. Blaquiere had previously secured as compensation for sinecures £3,200 per annum for life.

V.

*LORD CLANMORRIS.*

LORD CORNWALLIS, in his list of proposed Irish peerages in recognition of Unionist services, thus speaks of Mr. John Bingham :—

“ John Bingham, Esq., has the borough of Tuam, for the seats of which two friends of Government are returned. Mr. Bingham has a large fortune and is married to a daughter of the Chief Baron.”

The meaning of the expression, “ Has the borough of Tuam,” requires explanation. Mr. Bingham was “ patron ” of this rotten borough, which returned two members. From 1797 till February, 1800, Mr. Bingham sat in the Irish House of Commons for Tuam. He, in fact, returned himself. In February, 1800, he retired from Parliament, and sold, for the sum of £8,000, the two seats for Tuam to friends of the Government—that is, to gentlemen who were prepared to support the Union. Mr. Bingham was known to be up for sale. Sir Jonah Barrington, who at one time sat for Tuam, conducted a delicate negotiation with Mr. Bingham. Sir Jonah was deputed by the anti-Unionists to learn from Mr. Bingham what were his expectations from the Government for his nomination of members

for the Tuam seats. Mr. Bingham told Sir Jonah that he was prepared to take £8,000 from the anti-Unionists for his two seats for Tuam and to oppose the Union. The Government, however, in addition to the £8,000, added a peerage, and gave Mr. Bingham—then created Lord Clanmorris—£15,000 as “compensation” for the disfranchisement of his Parliamentary borough.

In Sir Jonah Barrington’s original black list the first Lord Clanmorris is thus described :—

“T. Bingham, created a peer, got £8,000 for two seats, and £15,000 compensation for Tuam. This gentleman first offered himself for sale to the anti-Unionists.—Lord Clanmorris.”

The Lord Chief Baron referred to by Lord Cornwallis as Mr. Bingham’s father-in-law was a man of notoriously profligate life, named Barry Yelverton. He was created Lord Yelverton in 1795, and was “promoted” to be Viscount Avonmore in 1800 for “advocating” the Union in the Irish House of Lords.

## VI.

### *LORD LANGFORD.*

LORD CORNWALLIS thus recommends the first Lord Langford for a Union peerage:—

“The Honourable Clotworthy Rowley is brother to the Earl of Bective, member for the county Meath. His mother is eldest daughter to the late Mr. Rowley, of Summerhill, whose wife was created Viscountess Langford. He trusts his Majesty will be graciously pleased to revive in him the title of Langford.”

Mr. Clotworthy Rowley, like his colleague in the representation of Meath—Mr. Preston, created Lord Tara—had, in the words of Lord Cornwallis, “separated himself from his old political connections.” In 1799 he voted against the Union. In 1800 he, with two members of his family who had also opposed the Union in 1799—William Rowley and John Rowley—voted for that measure. Hence the peerage. Mr. Rowley’s brother, the Earl of Bective, was also rewarded for his services in the cause of the Union, being made, in December, 1800, Marquis of Headfort. The present Lord Langford is an Irish representative peer.

## VII.

### *LORD ADARE.*

LORD CORNWALLIS thus recommends Sir Richard Quin for a Union peerage:—

“He brought himself and his friend Mr. Casey into Parliament with the express determination to support the measure of Union, of which he is a zealous advocate. His object is to be created a baron.”

Sir Richard Quin purchased seats for himself and Mr. Casey for the rotten borough of Kilmarnock, whose “patron” obtained £15,000 as compensation on its disfranchisement at the time of the Union. Sir Richard “brought himself and his friend into Parliament,” as Lord Cornwallis euphemistically terms the purchase of seats in January, 1800. As the measure of the Union received the royal assent on August 1, 1800, Sir Richard Quin’s Parliamentary experience was somewhat brief. “His object was,” in the words of Lord Cornwallis, “to be created a baron,” and that object he gained, being made Lord Adare on July 30, 1800, and being elevated to the earldom of Dunraven on January 22, 1822.

## VIII.

### *LADY NEWCOMEN.*

IN the list of persons recommended at the time of the Union by Lord Cornwallis for "the dignity of the peerage in Ireland" there is the following entry:—

"Sir W. G. Newcomen, Bart., is a banker of eminence in Dublin, is a member for the county of Longford, and in the measure of the Union has been particularly serviceable. He has requested that his Majesty would confer upon his wife the dignity of a baroness with remainder to his heirs male."

Sir William Newcomen declared, says Sir Jonah Barrington, that he supported the Union as he was not instructed to the contrary by his constituents. This avowal surprised many, as it was known that the County Longford was nearly unanimous against the measure, and that he was well acquainted with the fact. However, he voted for Castlereagh, and he asserted that conviction alone was his guide; his veracity was doubted, and in a few months some of his bribes were published. His wife was also created a peeress in 1800, and made a viscountess in 1804.

One of his bribes has been discovered registered in the Irish Rolls Office. It appears from the official

abstract on the registry that Sir William Newcomen had assets in his hands as executor to pay a debt due by Sir William Gladowe to the Treasury which amounted in 1800 to £10,000, but that the Irish Attorney-General, under a reference of Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh, was induced "under all the circumstances" to forego the debt with the exception of a sum of £2,000, which was never paid. In Sir Jonah Barrington's "Black List" there is this entry:—

"Sir W. G. Newcomen, Bart. Bought, and a peerage for his wife."

## IX.

### *LORD CASTLECOOTE.*

"CHARLES COOTE, Esq.," says Lord Cornwallis, when recommending him for an Irish peerage, "is heir to Sir Eyre Coote, has a very considerable property, is member for the Queen's County, is proprietor of half the borough of Maryborough, and supported an expensive contest to return General Dunne instead of his brother General Coote, who could not attend his duty in Parliament on account of military avocations. He is also heir-at-law to Lord Mountrath, who has permitted him to request that a new barony should be granted to his lordship with remainder to Mr. Coote."

Mr. Coote's "honour" stands first on the list of the Union peerages preserved in the Cornwallis Correspondence, and is thus recorded :—

"Earl of Mountrath to be Lord Castlecoote, with remainder to Mr. Coote, June 30, 1800."

The "expensive contest" to return General Dunne for Maryborough is thus noted in Sir Jonah Barrington's "Black List":—

"General Dunne, returned for Maryborough by the united influence of Lord Castlecoote and Government

to keep out Mr. Barrington, gained the election by only one."

General Coote, the former member, whose "military avocations" stood in the way, according to Lord Cornwallis, of "his duty in Parliament," retired because he would not vote for the Union. Mr. Charles Coote is thus immortalised in Sir Jonah Barrington's "Original Black List":—

"Charles Henry Coote. Obtained a regiment [that is a coloneley], which was taken from Colonel Warburton [an opponent of the Union], and a peerage—Lord Castlecoote—and £7,500 in cash for his interest in the borough of Maryborough."

It should be remembered that Maryborough is the capital of the Queen's County, which Mr. Coote represented in Parliament, and in Maryborough a legally convened meeting to protest against the Union was dispersed by military force.

## X.

### *LORD TARA.*

IN the list of the persons to whom Lord Cornwallis “ventured to hold out a reasonable expectation that, in consequence of their valuable services” in the cause of the Union, “his Majesty (George III.) would, in his goodness, raise them to the rank of Peer of Ireland,” is the name of John Preston.

“John Preston, Esq., of Bellinter, in the county of Meath,” writes Lord Cornwallis, “is of the family of Lord Ludlow, and has a property exceeding £5,000 a year. He separated himself from his old political connections in order to support the measure of Union, and was anxious if opportunity had enabled him to have procured an additional vote in favour of it.”

It would, perhaps, be advisable to explain what Lord Cornwallis means by the euphemistic expression “separated himself from his old political connections.” When the measure of the Union was first proposed in the Irish Parliament in 1799 it was defeated. Of those who had in 1799 successfully opposed the Union or declared against it, Lord Castlereagh palpably purchased *twenty-five* before the second discussion in 1800, which made a difference of fifty votes in favour of the Government.

Amongst the members of the Irish Parliament so purchased was Mr. Preston. "John Preston," says Sir Jonah Barrington, "was purchased by a title (Lord Tara), and his brother, a parson, got a living of £700 a year." Lord Tara likewise obtained £7,500 "compensation" for the disfranchisement of the borough of Navan, one of whose members he "returned" to the Irish Parliament.

## XI.

### *LORD HARTLAND.*

LORD CORNWALLIS thus recommends the first Lord Hartland for a Union peerage :—

“ Maurice Mahon, Esq., of Strokestown, in the county of Roscommon, is not in Parliament himself, but his eldest son is member for the county of Roscommon, who, being embarrassed by the addresses of his constituents, declined attendance, and his youngest son supported the question.”

The eldest son thus referred to was Thomas Mahon, who voted against the Union in 1799, and by absence from Parliament in 1800 practically disfranchised his constituency, who were, to his own certain knowledge, opposed to the Union. Mr. Mahon's second son, Stephen, who voted for the Union, did not represent, like his brother, a county constituency, but a pocket borough, Knocktopher, for which he was returned in May, 1800, for the express purpose of destroying the Irish Parliament. The patrons of Knocktopher were “ compensated ” at the Union with £15,000 for the loss of their “ property ” by the disfranchisement of the borough. Lord Hartland's peerage was obtained, as we have seen, by the services of his sons in the cause

of the Union. These services were the betrayal of his constituents by the elder and the purchase of a rotten borough for the purposes of corruption by the younger son.

## XII.

### *LORD DUNALLEY.*

LORD CORNWALLIS thus recommended a Mr. Henry Prittie for an Irish Union peerage :—

“ Henry Prittie, Esq., of Silver Mines, in the county of Tipperary, has property of £3,000 a year, and has supported the Union in the country, and with his two sons in Parliament.”

Mr. Prittie was not himself in Parliament in 1800. He had been elected for Tipperary in 1761, when not of age. He sat for it till 1768, and again from 1776 to 1790. Lord Cornwallis lays much stress, however, on Mr. Prittie's services in “ supporting the Union in the county of Tipperary.” The kind of support rendered to the Union in Tipperary was thus described by Mr. O'Connell in 1843, who, it must be remembered, had grown to man's estate and was a practising barrister at the period of the occurrences :—

“ The High Sheriff of Tipperary,” said Mr. O'Connell, “ convened a meeting of the nobility, gentry, and freeholders of his county in opposition to the Union. He took the chair, but he had been hardly ten minutes in the Court-house when it was filled with armed soldiery, who dispersed the meeting at the point of the bayonet.

That was the conduct pursued at this eventful period ; corruption, bribery, force, fraud, and terror were used."

While Mr. Prittie supported the Union outside Parliament in Tipperary, his eldest son Henry sat in Parliament for Carlow from 1797 till 1800, and voted at the beck of the wreckers of the Irish Legislature. Lord Cornwallis states that Mr. Prittie had two sons in Parliament. This is a slight inaccuracy. Mr. Prittie had a son and a stepson in Parliament. The stepson—a Mr. Bury, who was created Baron Tullamore in 1797—got himself a step in the peerage for the Union services which contributed to "raise" his stepfather to the peerage. He was made Viscount Charleville in December, 1800. Mr. Prittie was created Lord Dunalley on July 30, 1800. His descendant voted as an "Irish Representative Peer" against the Home Rule Bill on Sept. 9th. The history of the Dunalley peerage alone would justify the judgment of Mr. Lecky himself on Unionists. "In the majority of cases these [Union] peerages," says Mr. Lecky, "were simple, palpable, open bribes, intended for no other purpose than to secure a majority in the House of Commons" ("History of England in the Eighteenth Century," viii. p. 399).

### XIII.

#### *LORD VENTRY.*

“SIR THOMAS MULLINS,” writes Lord Cornwallis when recommending that gentleman for a Union peerage, “has a property of above £10,000 a year, chiefly in the county of Kerry. He is not himself in Parliament, but has given his support to the measure in the county, and by the voices of his son and of Mr. —, who have voted according to his sentiments.”

Mr. O’Connell, speaking in 1843, thus describes the methods employed in “supporting” the Union in Kerry :—

“I myself,” said Mr. O’Connell, “remember a gentleman from Kerry, Mr. St. John Mason, who was hunted out of the county because he dared to put an address into a newspaper calling on the people to petition against the Union—who was pursued to Roscrea (one of the principal towns in the county of Tipperary—a county in which the Union success of Mr. Prittie was recognised by a peerage), and afterwards committed to Kilmainham Gaol, where he lay for months for no offence but attempting to petition against the Union.”

Sir Thomas Mullins was created Lord Ventry on July 30, 1800. His son, William Mullins, the second Lord

Ventry, sat for the pocket borough of Dingle. The name of the "friend" who voted according to Sir T. Mullins's "sentiments" has not been discovered. "The name," says the editor of the Cornwallis Correspondence, "is blank in the draft" form of the recommendations for the peerage. Sir T. Mullins had evidently purchased a seat for a gentleman who was prepared to vote as his creature.

The present Lord Ventry, who is a Representative Irish Peer, voted against the Home Rule Bill on the 9th of September. The name of this gentleman is no longer Mullins. The "surname of de Moleyns has been assumed by royal license" since 1841, and the descendant of plain Thomas Mullins, who was made a baronet in 1797, and a Union peer in 1800, is Sir Dayrolles Blakeney Eveleigh de Moleyns, Baron Ventry.

#### XIV.

#### *LADY DUFFERIN.*

LORD CORNWALLIS thus introduces Sir James Blackwood to the Government in reference to an Irish Union peerage. "Sir James Blackwood, Bart., has," he says, "a fortune of £10,000 a year, chiefly in the county of Down and the borough of Killyleagh, for which he is returned, together with his friend Mr. Thussenden, and the Government is much indebted for his support in Parliament and in the county. He humbly wishes that the dignity of a baroness may be conferred upon his mother, with remainder to himself and his heirs." The Dowager Lady Blackwood was, in accordance with this recommendation, created Baroness Dufferin on July 30, 1800—the date of the other Union peerage creations.

The Government were "indebted" in this manner for Sir James Blackwood's support in Parliament. He was the patron of the nomination borough of Killyleagh, which returned two members, and for which he himself and his friend Mr. Thussenden sat. When a member for a nomination borough had been returned gratuitously by the patron, the etiquette was that he should vote on vital questions in accordance with the views of

the patron or resign his seat. Mr. Thussenden must accordingly be considered rather as the creature than the friend of Sir James Blackwood, in accordance with whose directions he was prepared to vote.

Sir James Blackwood's "support" of the Union in the county of Down must have been particularly valuable to the Government. Mr. Grey, who afterwards as Lord Grey was the Prime Minister in the Reform crisis of 1832, speaking in the British House of Commons on April 21, 1800, thus referred to the sentiments of the County Down with reference to the Union:—

"Those in favour of the measure possessing great influence in the country obtained a few counter petitions [in favour of the Union], and had great opportunities of procuring signatures to these, yet though the petition from Down [against the Union] was signed by 17,000, the counter petition was signed only by 415."

Sir James Blackwood, besides gaining a peerage for his mother, with remainder to himself and his heirs, was also recompensed for the loss of his "property" in the borough of Killyleagh, which was disfranchised at the Union, with the sum of £15,000, paid in cash.

XV.

*LORD ENNISMORE.*

THE recommendation of Mr. William Hare for an Irish Union peerage by Lord Cornwallis, the Lord-Lieutenant, is as follows :—

“ William Hare, Esq. He and his son have constantly supported the Union and given a regular attendance. Mr. Hare’s property is said to exceed £12,000 a year in the counties of Cork and Kerry.”

Mr. Hare and his son sat for Athy, a nomination borough of the Duke of Leinster. They bought their seats from the Duke of Leinster, and voted, as they were entitled under such circumstances to do, against their patron’s wishes. The cost of a single seat for a Parliament in Ireland was calculated by Henry Grattan in 1795 at £3,000. It is accordingly probable that the sum paid by the Hares to the Duke of Leinster for their seats was £6,000. Mr. Hare had also a small interest in the fee simple of corruption in the borough of Athy, for which at its disfranchisement in 1800 he was compensated with £1,200, the residue of the £15,000 at which the Parliamentary value of the borough was appraised going to the Duke of Leinster.

Mr. Hare was created Lord Ennismore on July 30,

1800 ; he was subsequently created Earl of Listowel. The present Earl of Listowel, who became a peer of the United Kingdom as Baron Hare in 1869, voted against Home Rule on September 9th. His father, availing himself of the permission granted to Irish peers of sitting in the House of Commons for any place in Great Britain, was elected for the borough of St. Albans, and was thus addressed in a public letter in 1841 by a member of the O'Connellite party, who adverted to his position as a peer of Ireland and a member of the House of Commons :—

“ True, you are at this moment a legislator, but by no right of birth, and again as representative for an English town, not for one in Ireland. However great your stake in that country, you could not, though fifty places were held open for you, except one, your marrowless dignity gliding ghost-like in to forbid the proffered seat.”

Sir Jonah Barrington's account of this peerage tallies with Lord Cornwallis's recommendation. Here is the extract from Sir Jonah's “ Black List ” :—

“ 53. Richard Hare. Put two members into Parliament ; was created Lord Ennismore for their votes.”

“ 54. William Hare, his son.”

## XVI.

### *LORD ERRIS.*

IN the list of Union peerages preserved in the Cornwallis Correspondence there is the following entry:—

“Lord Erris after Viscount Lorton, December 27, 1800.”

The species of services for which this peerage was conferred may be gathered from various passages in Lord Cornwallis's confidential papers. Thus, on February 16, 1799, Lord Cornwallis, the Lord-Lieutenant, informs the Duke of Portland that Lord Corry moved the day before in the Irish House of Commons that the House should resolve itself into a Committee to take into consideration the state of the nation. The object of the motion was, according to the Lord-Lieutenant, to league the country gentlemen who had voted against the Union into a general opposition to Government, and to enable the Speaker, Mr. Foster, to answer Mr. Pitt's statements in the British House of Commons. The debate continued till six o'clock in the morning. There were 123 votes against the motion and 103 in favour of it.

The “country gentlemen” who separated themselves from their class and supported the Government which

was bent on the destruction of the Irish Constitution were specially commended by Lord Cornwallis. "The Right Hon. Colonel King," he tells the Duke of Portland, "divided with the Government, and his grand-nephew, Colonel King, went away." A footnote tells us that the Colonel King who "went away" was Robert King, second son of the second Earl of Kingston. He was created Lord Erris, December 27, 1800, and made Viscount Lorton, May 30, 1806. He was member for Boyle from May, 1798, till the Union. He was subsequently made a general, doubtless for his Union services. His grand-uncle was a son of the first Earl of Kingston, and sat for the Kingston nomination borough of Boyle for thirty-nine years, from 1761 till the Union. The grand-nephew was returned for one of the Boyle seats in May, 1798, when the Irish Rebellion was at its height. A vacancy was made for him, evidently for the purposes of corruption, which seemed hopeful in the distracted state of the country. His first cousin, the third Earl of Kingston, got £15,000 as compensation for the disfranchisement of the borough of Boyle, which had proved so profitable to the members of the King family. The Barony of Erris and the Viscounty of Lorton are now merged by the extinction of the elder branch of the family in the Earldom of Kingston. The present Earl of Kingston is a grandson of the "Union Lord" Erris, and is an Irish representative peer.

## XVII.

### *LORD LECALÉ.*

THE Duke of Leinster at the time of the Union was a firm opponent of that measure. He protested against the determination of the Government to goad the country into rebellion for the purpose of carrying the Union by giving up his command to the Kildare Militia, and he was almost immediately afterwards dismissed from his sinecure office of Clerk of the Hanaper. The duke's name heads the list of the protesting peers in the Protest of the Irish Lords against the Union—a document which graphically details the atrocious circumstances attending that transaction. The tragic fate of the duke's unfortunate brother, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, is well known. He died in prison from wounds inflicted on him in his resistance to arrest as a leader of the United Irishmen.

The Duke and Lord Edward had a brother who is not so generally remembered, and whose name is only preserved in the dishonourable record of the Union peerages. In that list there is the following entry, "Lord Lecale, December 27, 1800, extinct." The name of the person thus created a peer is not even given. In Sir Jonah Barrington's "Black List" of

members of the Irish House of Commons who voted for the Union, there stands this record:—

“ 45. Lord Charles Fitzgerald, Duke of Leinster's brother—a pension and a peerage—a sea officer of no repute.”

A reference to the Leinster pedigree in Burke's Peerage, proves Lord Charles Fitzgerald to be the Lord Lecale of the Unionist peerage. Lord Charles James Fitzgerald, Sir Bernard Burke tells us, was created Lord Lecale in 1800. He died in 1810, when “ the dignity expired.”

## XVIII.

### *EARL OF CLANRICARDE.*

THE most hated name amongst the Irish nobility of the present generation occupies a place in the list of Union peerages—a fact which might well intensify the loathing with which that measure is regarded by the Irish people. Lord Cornwallis, the Lord-Lieutenant, in a letter marked “private,” states that Lord Clanricarde has exerted his influence, which is considerable in the county of Galway, in favour of the Union. In the list of Union peerages there is the following entry—

“Earl of Clanricarde to be Earl of Clanricarde, with remainder to his daughters on December 29, 1800.”

The reason for this Unionist peerage will be best explained by the following “private” letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland :—

“DUBLIN CASTLE, *December 2, 1800.*

“MY DEAR LORD,—The enclosed copy of a letter which I have received from Lord Clanricarde will prove to your Grace that, although I may have been considered as an importunate solicitor for the friends of the Union, I have not succeeded in affording universal satisfaction.

“CORNWALLIS.”

A footnote states that Lord Clanricarde requested "that as in the event of failure of heirs male, his property was entailed on females, the titles might descend in the same manner." The birth of a son, who was father of the present marquess, made the new patent of no effect. Lord Clanricarde's services in the cause of the Union, placed him first on the list of the Irish representative peers who were elected on August 2, 1800—the day after the Act of Union received the royal assent. These "representative" peers were all virtually nominated by Lord Cornwallis, whose list was previously approved by the Government. Lord Clanricarde pressed hard, on the strength of his Union services, to be made a marquess—a distinction which was subsequently conferred on his son. The claim was waived for a representative peerage. In a "most secret and confidential" letter of the Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis, it is stated that "his Majesty has expressed a strong desire that the dignity of a marquessate should be confined to the Earl of Clanricarde." Later on the Earl of Clanricarde, who was a general, and colonel of the 66th Regiment, actually asked to be made Commander of the Forces in Ireland. This gross job was not perpetrated, although it was promoted by the influence of a royal military duke—the Duke of York. Lord Cornwallis, who had himself a large military experience, thus writes:—

"The Duke of York, I believe, favours the appointment of Lord Clanricarde [to the Commandership of the Forces in Ireland], but I am afraid that as a commander in the field he would make a sad figure."

## XIX.

### *LORD MOUNT SANDFORD.*

LORD CORNWALLIS, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in recommending Mr. Henry Sandford for a Union peerage, thus states his qualifications :—

“ Henry Sandford, Esq., has a very considerable property in Roscommon and the borough of Roscommon, for which he served and returned a friend of Government. Having no children, he hopes his Majesty will grant him the peerage with remainder to the heirs male of his two brothers, one of whom is unmarried and not likely to marry.”

This recommendation was forwarded to the English Government on June 9, 1800. Lord Cornwallis seems somewhat ashamed of being the medium for this request. In a “secret and confidential” letter to the Duke of Portland, dated June 17, 1800, he says :—

“ Every possible argument was used by Lord Castlereagh and myself to persuade Mr. Sandford not to insist on having his peerage granted with remainder to the children of his brothers, but he positively refused to accept the honour on any other condition.”

Mr. Sandford was created Lord Mount Sandford with the special remainder for which he craved on July 30,

1800. He obtained likewise £15,000 as compensation for the disfranchisement of the borough of Roscommon, which "he had with other considerable property." Lord Mount Sandford's gains did not, however, terminate here. He sat himself for Roscommon borough from 1790 till the Union. His brother George, who became in process of time Lord Mount Sandford, sat for the same borough from 1783 till April, 1799. George Sandford then resigned his seat and enabled Henry Sandford, in the words of Lord Cornwallis, "to return a friend to the Government." The "friend" evidently paid Mr. Sandford well for the seat which enabled him to traffic in corruption, and Mr. Sandford, having sold one of the seats for the borough of Roscommon during the concluding months of the existence of the Irish Parliaments, and having retained the other seat for himself, was able to utilise both the seat he sold and the seat he retained in pressing his claims for a peerage.

## XX.

### LORD CLARINA.

THE list of the Union peerages preserved in the Cornwallis Correspondence contains the following entry:—  
“Lord Clarina, December 27, 1800.” The peerage-begging letter, marked “private,” from Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland, which led to this creation, is worthy of record:—

[PRIVATE.]

“DUBLIN CASTLE, *November 9, 1800.*

“MY DEAR LORD,—General Massey has most strongly urged upon me to recommend that his wife should be created a peeress in her own right as a reward for his long and faithful services as a soldier, and his zealous loyalty as a subject.

“I informed him that I could not venture to ask your Grace to lay before his Majesty any further request from me on the subject of peerages without incurring his displeasure, and that I had on this ground lately resisted many solicitations of that nature.

“General Massey was, however, so confident of his Majesty’s disposition to confer such a mark of favour upon him and of your Grace’s inclination to promote

his wishes, that I could not refuse to transmit his application, and his Majesty may judge how far it will be proper to grant to Mrs. Massey the honour which he solicits."

The honour was eventually granted to General Massey himself, who was created Lord Clarina. This peerage seems at first sight unconnected with the question of the Union. Why, then, does it appear in the list of "honours" for "Union services"? The answer is easily given—

"General Massey was member for the nomination borough of Swords from 1790 till 1797, and seems, while a legislator, to have displayed his 'services as a soldier and his zealous loyalty' as a subject to the best advantage, 'services' and 'loyalty' which were rewarded by the post of General in the Army, Field-Marshal of the Army in Ireland, Colonel of the 27th Foot, Governor of Limerick and of the Royal Hospital of Kilmainham."

Although General Massey was not himself in Parliament at the time of the Union he had strong Parliamentary interest. His brother, "a zealous Loyalist," named Hugh Massey, had been "elevated" to the Irish peerage in 1776 as Baron Massey, having, according to Burke's Peerage, represented the county of Limerick in several Parliaments:—

In the year 1776—the year of Hugh Massey's ennoblement—eighteen Irish peers, Mr. Lecky tells us, "were created in a single day, and seven barons and five viscounts were at the same time raised a step in the peerage. The terms of the bargain were well known to

be an engagement to support the Government by their votes in the House of Lords, and by their substitutes and their influence in the House of Commons" ("History of England in the Eighteenth Century," iv. p. 441).

General Massey's ennobled brother was dead. His nephew, the second Lord Massey, opposed the Union, but another nephew, the Hon. Eyre Massey, obtained £6,850 as compensation for his "property" in the borough of Askeaton. Then General Massey's father-in-law had been raised for his "loyalty" three steps in the Irish Peerage, becoming successively Baron Leitrim, Viscount Leitrim, and Earl of Leitrim, and receiving £15,000 as "compensation" for his pocket borough of Carrick, which enabled him to make such good use of his political talents. Both the present holders of the Massey "honours," Lord Massey and Lord Clarina, are Irish representative peers, and both voted on September 9th against Home Rule.

## XXI.

### *LORD WALLSCOURT.*

Among the persons to whom Lord Cornwallis in his letter to the Duke of Portland of June 9, 1800, states that he had "ventured to hold out a reasonable expectation that in consequence of their valuable services [in the cause of the Union], his Majesty would in his goodness raise them to the rank of peers in Ireland," was Mr. Joseph Blake. Lord Cornwallis gives to this gentleman the following commendation :—

"Joseph Blake, Esq., is member for the county of Galway, eldest son to Mr. Blake, of Ardfry, also has a considerable property in that county, and he is married to the daughter and heiress of the late Lord Lowth, by whom he has no male issue. He therefore humbly requests that the dignity of baron may be granted to him and his heirs male, and in default thereof to the heirs male of his father."

In a subsequent "secret and confidential" letter to the Duke of Portland, the Lord-Lieutenant says that every possible argument was used by Lord Castlereagh and himself to persuade this gentleman not to insist on having his peerage granted with remainder to the issue of his brothers, but that "he positively refused to accept his honours on any other condition."

Mr. Blake's "valuable services" in Parliament for ten years and his wealth procured him the peerage, with this special limitation to his father's heirs, from the fact that his father was a Roman Catholic. It is more than probable that the conversion to Protestantism of this Unionist Peer—the Catholics being at the time excluded from all political offices—was a false pretence, and was due to the same sordid motives which led him to vote for the destruction of the Irish Parliament. He was created Lord Wallscourt on July 30, 1800. He was then thirty-five years old, and his father sixty-one. The subsequent history of this peerage is interesting. The editor of the *Cornwallis Correspondence* thus writes:—

"The Barony [of Wallscourt] was on account of his father being a Roman Catholic conferred upon him [Mr. Blake] with remainder to the heirs male of his father, but the contingency of his dying without issue in the lifetime of his father was overlooked. This event, however, did take place, and at Lord Wallscourt's death his father was still alive with an heir-apparent only in the person of a grandson. Doubts arose as to whether in law the peerage was not therefore extinct, and although the young man succeeded to his uncle's title, neither he nor any subsequent Lord Wallscourt has ever brought the question to issue by claiming to vote for a representative peer."

Apostacy from religious and political faith, by which this peerage was obtained, has brought to its holders a mere nickname of a title accompanied with an absolute political disfranchisement.

## XXII.

### *LORD FRANKFORT.*

IN the list of recommendations for Union peerages sent by Lord Cornwallis, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to the English Cabinet, is the following entry :—

“ Right Honourable Lodge Morres, Lord of the Treasury. He is of the family of Lord Mountmorres, and has estates amounting to £5,000 a year in the counties of Kilkenny and Wexford, and has given a warm and useful support to the measure.”

Mr. Morres manifested very early in the Union debates his resolution to give “a warm and useful support” to the Government. Thus, in November, 1799, when the measure of the Union was practically defeated on its first introduction in the Irish House of Commons, Mr. Morres both spoke and voted for the Government. It was on that occasion that Mr. Plunket, afterwards Lord Plunket Lord Chancellor of Ireland, declared in debate that “within these last six weeks a system of black corruption had been carried on within the walls of the Castle [of Dublin] which would disgrace the annals of the worst period of the history of either country.” Mr. Morres had been a member of the Parliament which he aided in destroying for the

lengthened period of thirty-two years—from 1768 till the Union in 1800. He had systematically aimed at place and “honours,” and a letter written by him in 1789 to Lord Buckingham, who was then Lord-Lieutenant, is extant, in which he reproaches the Government, in what Mr. Froude terms “deliberate insolence,” for not making him a Privy Councillor—an honour which had been promised to him by the Duke of Rutland, the late Lord-Lieutenant:—

“Lord Buckingham,” he said, “has acted contemptuously and unjustifiably towards Parliament. He has broken the faith of the King’s Government solemnly pledged for services performed, and has thereby disgraced the memory of the Duke of Rutland, our late beloved Chief Governor. With these impressions on my mind, it cannot be expected that the Marquess should be an object of great personal respect from me.”

The rage of the disappointed aspirants to honours “for services performed,” which burned so fiercely in 1789, was not provoked in 1800. Mr. Morres, who had in the interval been made a Privy Councillor, was created an Irish peer in reward for services performed “on the faith of the King’s Government solemnly pledged” by participating in the destruction of the Irish Parliament. In 1816, his “services” were further recognised by his advancement to a Viscounty as Viscount Frankfort de Montmorency.

## XXIII.

### *THE EARL OF NORBURY.*

In a letter marked "private," and dated November 15, 1800, Lord Cornwallis informs the Duke of Portland that he has recommended Mr. Toler for an Irish peerage. In Lord Cornwallis's list of Union peerages, this is the entry in reference to Mr. Toler, Lord Norbury, afterwards Earl of Norbury, December 27, 1800. Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "Black List" of the members of the Irish House of Commons who voted for the Union, enters somewhat more minutely into detail with reference to Mr. Toler :—

"126. Right Hon. John Toler, Attorney-General. His wife, an old woman, created a peeress, himself made Chief Justice and a peer."

Sir Jonah Barrington is not quite accurate here as to the date of the creation of the peerage of Mrs. Toler, "the old woman." Mr. Toler, who was a "Castle" lawyer of the worst and most degraded type, had been made Solicitor-General for Ireland in 1789. In 1797, after eight years' service in promoting and defending the measures in the Irish Parliament which were recommended by the Government for the purpose of goading the country into rebellion in order to pave the way for

the Union, Mr. Toler was rewarded by the elevation of his wife to the peerage. Lord Camden, who was then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, informed the Duke of Portland that it was necessary to provide a long list of Parliamentary supporters in order "to carry into execution those promises which the Government was under the necessity of contracting in the course of that Parliament." In the list the name of Mrs. Toler appears amongst the persons recommended for the peerage. She was created on November 24, 1797, Baroness Norwood. Mr. Toler proved his gratitude for the peerage conferred on his wife by becoming a judicial emergency-man for the Government. The Irish judges, despite the strenuous opposition of the Castle, had been made independent of the Crown in 1782. They were accordingly no longer to be trusted for the execution of dirty work. The Government accordingly sent down Mr. Toler, their own Solicitor-General and Law Officer, to act as judge of assize and try prisoners whose prosecution he had in all probability himself advised. Mr. Toler on the bench was most useful in procuring the conviction of the foes of the Government in the trials arising out of the disturbed state of the country on the eve of the Rebellion of 1798, and in shielding from justice men who had murdered Irish peasants in cold blood. Lord Cloncurry, in his "Memoirs," states that he was present in court when Mr. Toler, as Solicitor-General and Judge, actually procured the acquittal of a militia officer who had wantonly murdered an old man suspected of being a rebel without the slightest provocation. At the time of the Union, Lord Carleton, the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, was

induced to retire to make room for Mr. Toler, who had been Attorney-General since 1798, and was now made Lord Norbury.

From 1800 till 1827, when he was forced to retire, Lord Norbury sat on the Irish Bench. His memory is, even after this lapse of time, held in execration. He occupies in Ireland the position assigned in England to Jeffreys and to Scroggs. It was remarked at a time when capital punishment was too general to occasion much comment, that Norbury never hesitated to condemn the convicted prisoner to the gallows. The agony of his fellow creatures was his delight, and he seemed to take a fiendish pleasure in pronouncing the death sentence, which he frequently accompanied by gibes and sneers and puns at the prisoner's expense. The exit of this monster from the Bench was procured by his further elevation in the Irish peerage.

On May 5, 1826, Mr. Scarlett, afterwards Lord Abinger, Lord Chief Baron of the English Court of Exchequer, presented to the House of Commons a petition complaining of the inability of Lord Norbury to discharge judicial functions. The petitioner in this case was the famous Daniel O'Connell, who was therein described as "an Irish barrister." It appeared that Lord Norbury was so subject to lethargic stupor that he would frequently fall fast asleep in the middle of a trial. In one instance it occurred that on a trial for murder he fell fast asleep, and so remained during the greater part of the evidence. The consequence was that he delivered such a charge to the jury as led to the conviction of the prisoner, who, however, was afterwards very properly pardoned. On another occasion the fact

of his being asleep was so notorious that the barrister who conducted the prosecution requested the jury to take notes of the evidence in order that they might inform the judge of what had passed when he awoke. Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel, who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland, felt that the facts were too strong, and made but a lukewarm defence of Lord Norbury. This may be explained by the fact that his lordship had previously received a hint to resign from the Castle, which so enraged him that he threatened the Under-Secretary of the Lord-Lieutenant with a challenge to fight.

O'Connell's petition, however, did good, for early next year Lord Norbury retired when "he was advanced to the dignities of Viscount Glandine and Earl of Norbury," with remainder to his second son, his eldest son having become on the death of his mother, in 1822, Lord Norwood.

In this case we see four peerages conferred as the reward of shame. (1) The Barony of Norwood for corrupt work as a lawyer. (2) The Barony of Norbury for services on the judicial bench as a partisan and for voting for the Union. (3 and 4) The Viscounty of Glandine and Earldom of Norbury as compensation for retirement from the Bench, which he had long filled under circumstances of public scandal.

## XXIV.

### *THE MARQUESS OF ELY.*

IN Lord Cornwallis's list of Union peerages there are two entries referring to the same individual. Under the heading, "English Peerages granted on account of Irish services," there is the following item: "Marquess of Ely to be Lord Loftus, January 13, 1801;" and under the heading, "Promotions in the Irish Peerage," we see, "Earl of Ely to be Marquess of Ely, December 29, 1800."

Mr. Lecky, the Unionist historian, in referring to the Union peerages, says:—

"In the majority of cases these peerages were simple, palpable, open bribes, intended for no other purpose than to secure a majority in the House of Commons. The most important of the converts was Lord Ely, whose decision, after many fluctuations, appears to have been finally fixed by a letter from Pitt himself. He obtained a promise of an English peerage and a well-founded expectation of a marquessate, and he brought to the Government at least eight borough seats and also a vast amount of country influence, which was very useful in procuring addresses in favour

of the Union" ("History of England in the Eighteenth Century," viii. p. 399).

Lord Ely "owned" six seats in nomination boroughs, which were disfranchised at the time of the Union. For the loss of this property he received as "compensation" the enormous sum of £45,000. Lord Ely "owned" in addition the borough of Wexford, which was deprived at the time of the Union of one seat. For this "loss" he received no compensation, for the following reasons, stated in the Cornwallis Correspondence:—

"Besides the seats for which the borough proprietors received compensation, many of them had influence in places which were still to return one member, and as one seat in the Imperial Parliament was considered quite equal to two in the Irish, no compensation was allowed. Thus Lord Ely had one seat at Wexford."

Nor was this all. Lord Ely appears to have bought nominations from other borough owners.

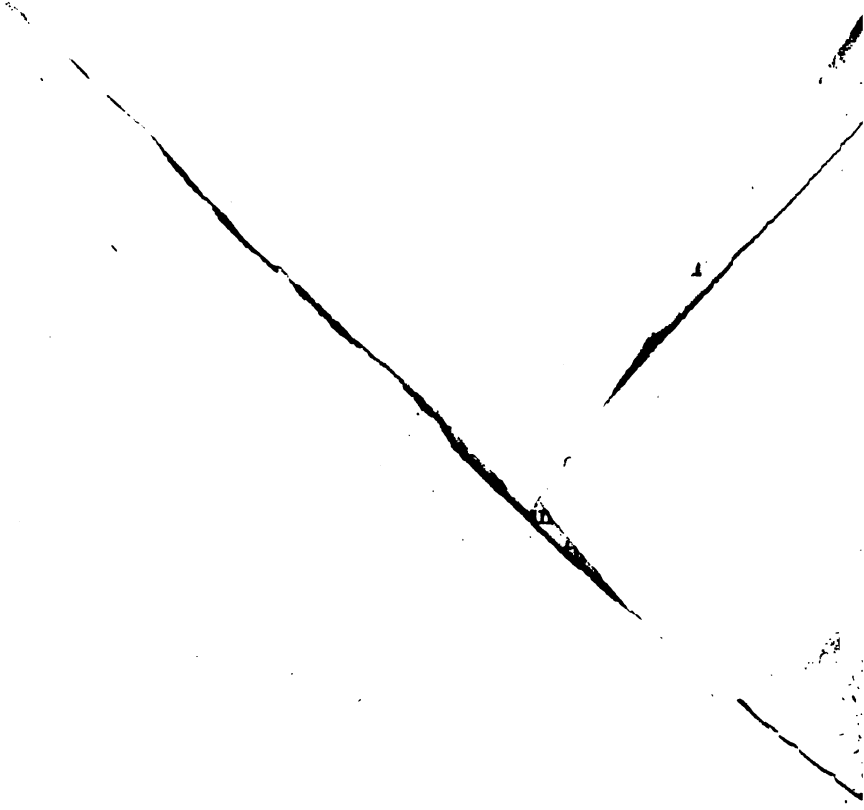
The "open, palpable bribes" to Lord Ely for his Union services are recorded in all their nakedness in the Cornwallis Correspondence. Thus, in a "secret" letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland, on November 27, 1798, we read: "Lord Ely [relying on the favour of the Crown in an object personal to himself] is prepared to give it [the Union] his utmost support." On November 5, 1799, Lord Castlereagh, in a "private" letter to the Duke of Portland, says: "I trust your Grace will feel the necessity of having a proper explanation with Lord Ely on the subject of his peerage." Lord Ely, however, was not at first disposed to trust the Government promises. Lord

Cornwallis informs the Duke of Portland in a letter written on January 13, 1799, that he has explained to Lord Ely "that he will not be allowed to shuffle on this occasion," and on March 27, 1799, Lord Cornwallis "is happy to inform your Grace [the Duke of Portland] that Lord Ely has declared positively for the Union." On July 8, 1799, in a "secret and most confidential" letter, Cornwallis tells Portland that Lord Ely "has been brought to promise to take a zealous part in promoting resolutions in favour of the Union." On December 11, 1799, a "private" letter written by Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland brings Mr. Pitt into direct association with the Union peerage "bribes." "Mr. Pitt's letter," says Lord Castlereagh, "which your Grace was so obliging to obtain for me, enabled me perfectly to satisfy Lord Ely without making any positive promise as to the marquessate." Again, on June 17, 1800, Lord Cornwallis, in a "secret and confidential" letter to the Duke of Portland, says:—

"Lord Ely, who never willingly relinquished anything, has a promise of being made a marquess, which I understood from Lord Castlereagh was authorised from England in a letter written by Mr. Pitt and transmitted by your Grace to him."

Lord Ely became, as we have seen, the Marquess of Ely and a Baron of the United Kingdom under the title of Lord Loftus. He also obtained £45,000 as "compensation" for his boroughs. The name of his representative does not, however, appear in the division list on the Home Rule Bill on September 9, 1893. The Bankruptcy Act of 1883 declares that when a debtor is adjudged bankrupt he shall subject to the

provisions of that Act, be disqualified for sitting or voting in the House of Lords. The present Marquess of Ely was adjudicated a bankrupt on August 15, 1882. He has not as yet obtained a certificate of conformity, and is therefore still a bankrupt. The story of the Ely peerage illustrates the old adage, "The devil's corn all goes to bran."



Cornwallis informs the Duke  
written

## XXV.

THE EARL OF NORMANTON. Thirsty  
Unionist  
ruption, the

THE Unionist peerage conferred on the brother of  
Norbury had its parallel in infamy as 1776, Lord  
peerage conferred on that high interests of the Govern-  
ment ecclesiastical politician Member of the House of  
Commons. This gentleman was got £30,000 as "compensa-

thing, hidden, for obstruction of the boroughs "owned"  
I understood popular influence did not end there, as  
in a "private letter" to the Duke of  
from England him that "we stand indebted to Lord  
transmitted seven votes [for the Union]."

Lord Clifden's power stood to his clerical brother in  
stead. We find Charles Agar a Viceregal Chaplain,  
Dean, then Bishop of Cloyne, and in 1779 Archbishop  
of Cashel. Lord Castlereagh in his correspondence  
gives us a glimpse of his doings as Archbishop of  
Cashel. "The practice," writes Lord Castlereagh, "of  
bishops not to renew leases with their tenants, in order  
at the expiration of the leases to make beneficial leases

to their families, is growing common. The Archbishop of Cashel (Agar) has made great estates to his family by this mode. These circumstances throw an odium on Church possessions." The "great estates" obtained under such circumstances caused his Grace to be elevated to the Irish peerage as Baron Somerton in 1795. His conduct as a member of the Irish Privy Council during the Rebellion of 1798, is thus described in Grattan's Life :

"A question arose in the Privy Council respecting the State prisoners, whether they should be executed or transported? The majority decided on the latter course, but one of the impediments to this was the Archbishop, whom the Council found very difficult to bring over to the side of mercy, for he insisted on having them all put to death."

"Feelings," Mr. Grattan continues, "of this description are not peculiar to that Archbishop alone, for unfortunately it may be observed that clergymen, when they become politicians, are by far the most violent, and theirs is the worst species of rage, for their profession protects them, and they can indulge their passions without fear, as they are out of the way of danger."

The Primrose parsons might take these words to heart. Archbishop Agar was ready to accept a bribe to vote for the Union. In a "private" letter written to the Duke of Portland on July 8, 1799, Lord Cornwallis states his method of managing the Archbishop :—

"It was privately intimated to me that the sentiments of the Archbishop of Cashel were less unfriendly to the Union than they had been, on which I took an

opportunity of conversing with his Grace on the subject, and after discussing some preliminary topics respecting the representation of the spiritual lords and the probable vacancy of the see of Dublin, he declared his great unwillingness at all times to oppose the measures of the Government."

In February, 1800, Lord Cornwallis informs the Duke of Portland that the Archbishop spoke in favour of the Union in the Irish House of Lords. The following words in the fifth article of the Act of Union, which seem so ludicrous nowadays, are his Grace's handiwork: "And that the continuance for ever of the said United Church of the said United Kingdom shall be deemed and be taken to be a fundamental article of the Union."

On May 10, 1800, Lord Cornwallis writes to the Duke of Portland a "private" letter in reference to Archbishop Agar. "His Grace," he says, "had my promise when we came to an agreement with respect to the Union that he should have a seat in the House of Lords for life."

Archbishop Agar was made at the time of the Union an Irish representative peer. He also got promotion in the Irish peerage for his "Union" services. Lord Somerton to be Viscount Somerton, December 29, 1800. He was advanced to the dignity of the Earl of Normanton in 1806. He became Archbishop of Dublin in December, 1891, and was deeply disappointed at not getting the Primacy. There is an extremely eulogistic inscription to the memory of this Union Archbishop and Peer in Westminster Abbey and a fine bas-relief representing the angels bearing the mitre of the saintly prelate.

In 1873 the Earl of Normanton of the day was created a peer of the United Kingdom under the title of Baron Somerton. The bearer of the "family honours" voted on the 9th of September against the Home Rule Bill.

XXVI.

*THE EARL OF CLARE.*

JOHN FITZGIBBON, who was Attorney-General for Ireland from 1784 till 1789, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1789 till his death in 1802, is described by Mr. Lecky as "the ablest and at the same time the most detested advocate of the Union. To him more than perhaps to any other man it is due that nothing was done during the quiet years that preceded the French Revolution to diminish the corruption of the Irish Parliament or the extreme anomalies of the Irish ecclesiastical establishment. He was the soul of that small group of politicians, who, by procuring the refusal of Catholic Emancipation in 1798, flung the Catholics into the Rebellion of 1798, and his influence was one of the chief obstacles to the determination of Pitt to carry Catholic Emancipation concurrently with the Union" ("History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vi. pp. 379, 380).

In the earlier part of his career FitzGibbon had popular leanings. He was made Attorney-General in 1784 with the approval of Grattan, and "from that time forth," says Grattan, "his country and myself were the two peculiar objects of his calumny." He was the cynical and avowed advocate of Parliamentary corruption. He

owed the Lord Chancellorship to the part he took in the disputes between the English and the Irish Parliaments in 1789 on the first madness of George III. The Irish Parliament wished to offer the Regency, with full powers, to the Prince of Wales, an act which would mean the dismissal from power of Mr. Pitt, who was no favourite with the future George IV. FitzGibbon was promised the Irish Chancellorship—a post never previously held by an Irishman—with an Irish peerage if he succeeded in securing Mr. Pitt's success. He threatened each member of the Opposition that he should be made "the victim of his vote," and stated openly that if necessary half a million of money would be spent in the corruption of the Irish House of Commons. He made this shameful avowal in the following terms in the Irish House of Commons on February 25, 1789:—

"I recollect Lord Townshend proroguing the Parliament, and I recollect when next they met they voted him an address of thanks, which address cost this nation half a million of money. I hope to God I shall never again see such effects from party. I hope to God I shall never again see half a million of the people's money employed to procure an address from their representatives" (Irish Debates, ix. p. 181).

FitzGibbon was rewarded with the Chancellorship for his services, and was at once raised to the peerage as Baron FitzGibbon. He subsequently became, in 1793, Earl of Clare in the Irish Peerage. On the Bench he showed his spite and malignity to Mr. Curran, his old opponent at the Bar and in the House of Commons, so markedly as to banish him from practice in his circuit. Twenty years afterwards Mr. Curran, when Master of

the Rolls, told Mr. Grattan that his losses in professional income, through the conduct of the Lord Chancellor, had never been estimated at less than £30,000.

Lord Clare early discovered in the Union a prospect of further personal advancement. So early as September 25, 1798, Lord Cornwallis writes to Mr. Pitt that "even the Chancellor, who is the most right-headed politician in the country will not hear of the Roman Catholics sitting in the United Parliament." A month later, on October 16, 1798, Lord Clare, who is in London, writes thus to Lord Castlereagh :—

"I have seen Mr. Pitt, the [English] Chancellor, and the Duke of Portland, who seems to feel very sensibly the critical situation of our damnable country, and that the Union alone can save it."

A secret and most confidential letter written on July 8, 1799, from Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland shows that Lord Clare's services to his "damnable country" are not to be unrewarded. It cordially acknowledges the propriety of conferring at this time a British peerage on Lord Clare, and thus concludes :—

"From a sense of the indelicacy of suffering the Chancellor to wait for a mark of his Majesty's favour until the day of general remuneration [July 30, 1800, is the usual date of "Union" peerages] shall arrive, I do not hesitate to give my opinion in favour of Lord Clare's immediate promotion."

Lord Clare was accordingly created an English Union peer before the passing of the Union. Here is the entry under heading, "English Peerages granted on account of Irish (Union) services" :—

"Earl of Clare to be Lord FitzGibbon, September 24, 1799."

The Union for which he strove so hard and the British peerage which rewarded his efforts did not prove gratifying to the vanity of Lord Clare.

"His first speech in the British Parliament," says Mr. Fitzpatrick, "was met with interruption and rebuffs. He abused the Catholics, ridiculed his country, was called to order by Lord Suffolk, rebuked by the Lord Chancellor, resumed, was again called to order, lost temper, and stigmatised the Opposition as 'Jacobins and Levellers.' 'We would not bear this insult from an equal,' exclaimed the Duke of Bedford; 'shall we endure it at the hands of mushroom nobility?' Even Mr. Pitt was disgusted. 'Good God,' said he, addressing Mr. Wilberforce, 'did ever you hear in all your life such a rascal as this.'"

Mr. Grattan mentions in the memoirs of his father that this anecdote was stated by Mr. Wilberforce to Mr. North ("Sham Squire," p. 196). Lord Clare returned to Ireland crestfallen. He died in 1802. His funeral was the scene of a frantic exhibition of hatred. He once declared that he would make the Catholics as tame as cats. Dead cats were flung upon his hearse and his grave.

## XXVII.

### *LORD ROSSMORE.*

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM was for forty-five years a "thick and thin" supporter of the Irish House of Commons, where he sat during the course of his career for three rotten boroughs of the English Government in opposition to the wants and wishes of the Irish nation. He held the well-paid but practically sinecure offices of General and Colonel of the 5th Dragoons, a regiment which was disbanded the year of the Union. He sat in the Irish House of Commons for the rotten borough of Tulske from 1751 till 1761. At the time of the Union £15,000 was paid as compensation for its disfranchisement to the "owner" of Tulske. From 1761 to 1768 General Cunningham "represented" the nomination borough of Armagh, which lost one of its members at the time of the Union, the "owner" of the borough receiving no compensation on the principle that one seat in the English Parliament was as good as two seats in the Irish Parliament. From 1768 till 1796, when he was "elevated" to the Irish peerage, General Cunningham sat for the borough of Monaghan, whose "owners," of whom he himself was one, received £15,000 at the Union. General Cunningham had the distinction of

being for some time a member of the Irish and British Parliaments, and of sitting in both for rotten boroughs. He sat in the British Parliament for East Grinstead, a borough which was swept away by the Reform Act of 1832.

In 1796 General Cunningham's "services" as a Government stalwart were recognised by Lord Camden, who elevated him to the Irish peerage as Baron Rossmore. Lord Camden, it will be remembered, was the Lord-Lieutenant under whose administration the Irish people were deliberately goaded into the rebellion which culminated in 1798. General Cunningham's services must have been considered very valuable when the peerage was given, as he was childless, with special remainder to the sons of two of his wife's sisters. Lord Rossmore's "Union services" in 1800 led to his recommendation by Lord Cornwallis for an Irish representative peerage. That dignity he acquired, in spite of a strong protest from the Duke of Portland. The "compensation" money for the disfranchisement of the borough of Monaghan, for which Lord Rossmore sat in the Irish Parliament, was thus divided between him and three other gentlemen who were his brothers-in-law: "Earl of Clermont, £3,750; Lord Rossmore, £3,750; Right Hon. T. Jones, £3,750; Henry Westenra, £3,750; total, £15,000."

The present Lord Rossmore, true to the traditions of his family, voted against Home Rule on September 9, 1893. We find his lordship on the very same day giving to "dear Mr. Harness," of electropathic belt celebrity, a testimonial which has been extensively advertised:—

“ROSSMORE, MONAGHAN,

“*September 9, 1893.*

“DEAR MR. HARNESS,—In reply to your inquiry, I must express my great satisfaction at the benefit I have received from your electropathic belt, which I found of the greatest value when suffering from sleeplessness. I have recommended your appliances and treatment to many of my friends, who have been equally delighted with the results.

“Yours truly,

“ROSSMORE.”

During the Liberal Administration Lord Rossmore was removed from the Commission of the Peace for leading a party of Orangemen to break up a Nationalist meeting in County Monaghan. He broke through the ranks of the soldiers, saying his men could eat up the Queen's troops. The Tory Government, however, restored him to magisterial honours.

In November, 1893, Mr. Diamond, the energetic M.P. for Monaghan, asked in the House of Commons—

“Whether, in view of the revelations in regard to the proceedings of the agents of Lord Rossmore with respect to the case of Gorman, the Chief Secretary will consider what steps should be taken in regard to them as servants of the Crown. And, whether the attention of the Lord Chancellor will be called to the conduct of Lord Rossmore in the matter, and also to the fact that he was once previously removed from the Commission of the Peace.”

Mr. Asquith replied that the matter was under the consideration of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

The "revelation" to which Mr. Diamond alluded was the fact that Lord Rossmore's agent got a tenant named Gorman to sign an agreement, the effect of which was to deprive him of the benefit of the Land Act. This agreement came under the consideration of the Irish Land Commission, when Mr. Justice Bewley, who presided, refused to recognise it, saying that no censure could be too severe for such a transaction.

It is well to have a "belted baron" amongst the defenders of the Union.

## XXVIII.

### *LORD CLONCURRY.*

NICHOLAS LAWLESS, afterwards Lord Cloncurry in the peerage of Ireland, was born in 1788, and was the son of Robert Lawless, who commenced life as an errand-boy in the shop of a woollen-draper in Dublin, became eventually a foreman and afterwards a partner in the establishment, and finally married the widow of his former master. The wealth of Nicholas, the offspring of this marriage, was considerable. He supplemented his riches by making a runaway match with a Miss Margaret Brown, the only child of a Mr. Valentine Brown, the richest brewer in Dublin, who was, like Nicholas Lawless himself, a Catholic. Mr. Lawless for some years lived in France. He bought an estate in Normandy, but, becoming tired of exile, he returned to Ireland, and immediately afterwards announced himself a convert to Protestantism.

The "conversion" of Lawless was contemporaneous with the purchase for what was considered a nominal sum of the "borough of Rathcormac," in the county of Cork, which proved a very highly remunerative investment. When congratulated on his purchase, Lawless observed that it was a dainty spot, and took some hold

on his fancy when he absolutely ventured to risk body and soul for it. The penal laws against Catholics were in vogue at that time, and a Catholic purchasing an estate would run immediate risk of losing it by the hateful process of discovery.

Rathcormac, which Lawless purchased for a song, was resold to much advantage. A Colonel Tonson took a most immoderate fancy to Rathcormac, and offered Lawless a large sum for his title thereto, which was accepted. Colonel Tonson, having become proprietor of the borough, made himself its Parliamentary representative, was created an Irish Peer for his services to the Crown, and obtained in 1800, as "Lord Riversdale of Rathcormac," £15,000 as "compensation" for the disfranchisement of the borough.

At the General Election in Ireland, in 1776, Lawless was returned for the borough of Lifford, in Donegal, of which the Earl of Erne was the proprietor. His colleague in the representation was the Hon. Abraham Creighton, who voted against the Union in 1799, and for it in 1800, and who is stated by Sir Jonah Barrington to have been "privately purchased." Lawless, who evidently purchased his seat and had abandoned his religion for worldly advancement, was looked on as a safe man by the Government, and was immediately created a baronet. He voted consistently against the popular party for the next thirteen years, and in 1789 sided through thick and thin with the Marquess of Buckingham, who was then Lord-Lieutenant, in his disputes with the Irish Parliament on the regency question.

In 1789 Sir Nicholas Lawless was created Lord

Cloncurry. He obtained this "honour" by giving money which was to be applied by Government for the purchase of seats and the bribing of members in the House of Commons.

Mr. George Ponsonby, who was afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland and leader of the Whig party in the British House of Commons from 1806 till his death, in 1817, thus spoke in the Irish House of Commons in reference to the Cloncurry peerage:—

"I have good reason to believe that peerages have been sold for money; nay, more, I have proof. Give me a committee, and if I do not establish my charge degrade me, let me no more enjoy the character of an honest man. I dare you to do it, and I risk my reputation on establishing the fact."

"The sale of peerages," says Curran, "is as notorious as the sale of cart-horses in the Castle Yard, the publicity the same, the terms not any different, the horses not warranted sound, the other animals warranted rotten." "The Irish Minister," says Grattan, "has taken money for seats in the Peers under contract that it should be applied to purchase seats in the Commons." The younger Grattan, in his life of his father, tells us that among the peerages which Grattan, Ponsonby, and Curran offered to prove had been sold, and the money laid out for the purchase of members of the House of Commons, was that of Cloncurry.

"We are not," says Mr. Fitzpatrick, "in a position to state the exact sum which Sir Nicholas Lawless handed the British Minister for his peerage, but we can have no doubt that it was considerable. In the second Lord Cloncurry's 'Personal Recollections' a

letter from his father to the Duke of Portland, dated August 20, 1799, appears. 'If I have obtained any honours,' said the first Lord Cloncurry, 'they have cost me their full value.' "

Lord Cloncurry's ambition was insatiable. Lord Fitzwilliam landed as Viceroy in Ireland on January 9, 1795, and only four days afterwards Lord Cloncurry is discovered begging of him promotion in the peerage. Mr. Fitzpatrick has had access to the "Précis Book" of Lord Fitzwilliam. He relates that under date January 8, 1795, there is the following entry in Lord Fitzwilliam's handwriting: "Lord Cloncurry desires a promotion in the peerage. Begs to know if recommended by Lord W." Amongst the "Applications to the Lord-Lieutenant in England" one is particularly underlined as personal. The applicant is Lord Cloncurry, and his object promotion in the peerage. "When, however," says Mr. Fitzpatrick, "he became Baron Cloncurry in 1789 he had reached the zenith of his aristocratic honours" ("Cloncurry and his Times," pp. 51, 52).

The present Lord Cloncurry is a peer of the United Kingdom. He voted against the Home Rule Bill on September 9, 1893.

The Hon. Emily Lawless, a descendant of the first Lord Cloncurry, the son of the woollen-draper's errand-boy, in her novel "Hurrish," of which Mr. Lecky, the Unionist historian, thinks highly, speaks slightly of the lowly antecedents of some of the Irish members. "The Lawlesses," says Mr. Fitzpatrick, in his "Sham Squire," "who hold their heads high, more than once got a Roland for an Oliver. The first Lord Cloncurry, having gone to see the pantomime of 'Don Quixote,'

laughed immoderately at the scene when Sancho is tossed in the blanket. On the following morning the *Freeman's Journal* contained the following epigram :—

“ ‘ Cloncurry, Cloncurry,  
Why in such a hurry  
To laugh at the comical squire ?  
For though he's tossed high,  
Yet you cannot deny  
That blankets have tossed yourself higher. ’ ”

## XXIX.

### *THE EARL OF LIMERICK.*

MR. SEXTON PERY was for many years a member of the patriot party in the Irish Parliament. In 1768 he was, however, during the corrupt administration of Lord Townsend, seduced from his popular principles. In 1771 he was appointed Speaker of the House of Commons, and on his retirement from the Chair in 1785 he was created Viscount Pery.

The Speaker, remembering the precept that "whoso provideth not for his own household is worse than an infidel," used his influence to secure the promotion of his second brother, the Rev. Wm. Cecil Pery. He was "consecrated" Bishop of Killaloe in 1781 and "translated" to a still richer see—that of Limerick—in 1784. In 1790 he was created Baron Glentworth in the peerage of Ireland, and this was one of the peerages which Grattan and Ponsonby offered to prove had been sold for hard cash, and laid out, under the circumstances detailed in the account of the Cloncurry peerage, in the purchase of members of the House of Commons.

But how could a bishop living in the style suitable to his station, and a younger son of a country gentleman, out of his official income save a sum so considerable as

to be offered as a bribe for a peerage? Mr. Pery had been on the episcopal bench for nine years before he purchased his peerage. He had many opportunities for amassing wealth. It was usual for Irish bishops on the dropping in of leases to refuse to renew them and re-let on nominal terms to members of their own family, thus enriching themselves at the expense of the see, or to renew the leases to the former lessees in consideration of enormous fines. Thus Archbishop Agar, to whose doings we have referred as the first Earl of Normanton, acquired £40,000 by a single renewal fine, and is stated to have amassed from his ecclesiastical savings the sum of £400,000. It was also usual for bishops to sell benefices of which they were the patrons. Bishop Wilberforce writes in his "Diary" so late as 1861 that Bishop Higgins of Derry "sells all his livings." The peerage of Glentworth, which was obtained under these circumstances of shame in 1789, became in 1800 a Union peerage. The Bishop died in 1794, and his son, the second Lord Glentworth, followed in the corrupt footsteps of his father. In a letter of Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland on August 14, 1799, we learn that Lord Glentworth has "perfectly succeeded in attaching to the measure [of the Union] every person not of the Corporation [of Limerick], and the property of the county [of Limerick] through his lordship's exertions will be brought forward not less decidedly in its support." In another letter, dated February 11, 1800, Lord Cornwallis informs the Duke of Portland that the Union was "supported in the House of Lords by Lord Glentworth."

These services received their reward. Lord Glent-

worth was, through the influence of the grateful Lord-Lieutenant, in whose hands the election was virtually placed, elected an Irish Representative Peer on August 2, 1800, the day after the Union Bill received the royal assent. In the "Union Promotions to the Irish Peerage" there is this entry—"Lord Glentworth to be Viscount Limerick, December 29, 1800," and in 1815 we find him "enrolled among the peers of the United Kingdom as Baron Foxford."

The present Earl of Limerick, who sits in the House of Lords as Baron Foxford, is Whip of the Tory party in the Upper Chamber, and of course voted against the Home Rule Bill. His urgent summons to the Peers to be present in their places, not merely on the night of the division, but throughout the debate, created considerable amusement at an unconscious confession of the unreality of the proceedings.

### XXX.

#### *THE EARL OF ENNISKILLEN.*

THE years 1760, 1776, and 1789 each witnessed attacks by the Government in Ireland on popular rights, and accompanying dismissals from offices and promotions. In 1760, when Malone, the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, was dismissed for opposing an assault on the independence of the Irish Parliament, Mr. Cole, the member for Enniskillen, was created Baron Mount Florence for his subserviency to the Government. Again, in 1776, in another contest between the Irish Government and popular rights, Mr. Lecky says: "A step was taken by the Government which in England would probably have been followed by an impeachment. Eighteen Irish peers were created in a single day, and seven barons and five viscounts were at the same time raised a step in the peerage. The terms of the bargain were well known to be an engagement to support the Government by their votes in the House of Lords, by their substitutes and their influence in the House of Commons" ("History of England in the Eighteenth Century," iv. p. 441). Lord Mount Florence was one of the seven barons who were then made viscounts. He became Viscount Enniskillen. Then again, in 1789,

when a system of "wholesale corruption"—the words are Mr. Lecky's—was adopted, the list of "promotions" contained in Mr. Grattan's "Memoirs" has this entry, "Viscount Enniskillen created Earl of Enniskillen."

The gentleman who owed his viscounty to the corruption of 1776, and his earldom to the corruption of 1789, was not slow in developing in the reign of terror in 1798 an excess of "loyalty" which actually disgusted the Unionist pashas of Dublin Castle. This letter, written by the direction of Lord Cornwallis to General Craig, throws some light on the conduct of Lord Enniskillen. It is dated October 18, 1798:—

"Having laid before the Lord-Lieutenant the proceedings of a general court-martial held by your orders in Dublin Barracks on Saturday, the 13th inst., of which Colonel the Earl of Enniskillen is president, I am directed to acquaint you that His Excellency entirely disapproves of the sentence of the above court-martial acquitting Hugh Whollaghan [an Orange Militia yeoman] of a cruel and deliberate murder, of which, by the clearest evidence, he appears to have been guilty. His Excellency further desires that the above may be read to the president [the Earl of Enniskillen] and members of the court-martial in open court."

In a postscript Captain Taylor, who was writing by the direction of the Lord-Lieutenant, adds:—

"I am also directed to desire that a new court-martial may be immediately convened for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them, and that none of the officers who sat upon Hugh Whollaghan be admitted as members."

Lord Enniskillen, it must be admitted, opposed the

Union. His opposition was probably due to resentment of Lord Cornwallis's censure on him for condoning—in "the interests of law and order"—an atrocious murder. Lord Enniskillen's borough of Enniskillen was not wholly disfranchised by the Union. It was, however, deprived of one member, and was of equal value to the family, as during the existence of the Irish Parliament till 1832, Lord Castlereagh pronounced the borough to be a "close," or in other words, a "pocket" borough.

Lord Enniskillen was not above asking a favour of Lord Cornwallis, who gave his son recommendations and letters of introduction on entering the Indian Civil Service. A note in the Cornwallis Correspondence tells us that this gentleman, the Hon. Arthur Cole, "showed singular firmness and decision during the Madras Mutiny." Lord Enniskillen's eldest son was created an Irish representative peer after his father's death in 1802. In 1816 he became a peer of the United Kingdom under the title of Baron Grinstead.

The present Earl of Enniskillen, who, as Viscount Cole, obtained an unenviable notoriety in the Mordaunt divorce case, voted on September 9, 1893, as Baron Grinstead, against Home Rule.

## XXXI.

### *THE EARL OF CALEDON.*

THE Irish Parliament was not free from the "nabobs," or Indian adventurers, who began to appear prominently in English political life in the early part of the reign of George III.

"James Alexander, Esq.," we read in Burke's Peerage, "having filled several important offices in India and represented the city of Londonderry from 1772 till 1782, was elevated to the peerage of Ireland, June 6, 1790, by the title of Baron Caledon of Caledon, co. Tyrone. In November, 1797, his lordship was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Caledon, and on January 1, 1801, created Earl of Caledon." Here we see one man obtaining three successive steps in the peerage within eleven years for services of shame. The year 1790 was the period of what Mr. Lecky calls "wholesale corruption." In the list of "promotions" furnished by Mr. Grattan for this period there is the following entry: "Mr. Alexander created Baron Caledon." In 1797, when the "nabob" became a viscount, the "honour" was conferred on him by Lord Camden, whose action was actually goading the country into the Rebellion of 1798. In Lord Cornwallis's list of "Promotions in the Irish Peerage" for Union services there

is this entry: "Viscount Caledon to be Earl of Caledon, December 29, 1800." Although "Nabob" Alexander sat for Londonderry, he "owned" the borough of Newtownards, for which he received £15,000 as compensation on the passing of the Union. When Lord Cornwallis instituted a sham progress through Ireland for the purpose of collecting signatures in favour of the Union, he states in a "private" letter to the Duke of Portland, written on October 22, 1799, "that an hour after he left Lord Caledon's house the corporation and the principal inhabitants of the town of Monaghan arrived with an address in favour of the Union." In the same letter the Lord-Lieutenant says:—

"I cannot express in sufficiently strong terms my obligations to Mr. Alexander, member for the City of Derry, who attended me throughout the greatest part of my tour, and was always most usefully and actively employed."

Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "Black List" of members of the Irish Parliament who voted against the Union, thus describes Mr. Alexander:—

"2. Henry Alexander, Chairman of Ways and Means, cousin of Lord Caledon. His brother made a Bishop, himself Colonial Secretary at the Cape of Good Hope."

Sir Jonah might have added that Mr. Alexander, having successfully promoted the Union, transferred his services to England as the representative of Old Sarum—a borough whose name was a synonym for corruption in the British Parliament.

The present Earl of Caledon is an Irish representative peer. He voted on September 9, 1893, against Home Rule.

XXXII.

*LORD KILMAINE.*

ON February 20, 1790, Mr. Grattan moved in the Irish House of Commons that "a select committee be appointed to inquire in the most solemn manner whether the late or present Administration have entered into any corrupt agreement with any person or persons to recommend such persons to his Majesty as fit and proper to be made by him peers of this nation [of Ireland] in consideration of such person or persons giving certain sums of money to be laid out in procuring the return of members to serve in Parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, inconsistent with the independency of Parliament, and in violation of the fundamental laws of the land." The Government opposed the motion for the granting of an investigation which they would have courted if the charge made against them by Mr. Grattan "of a brokerage of honours" had been unfounded.

"They began," said Mr. Curran in debate, "with the sale of the honour of the peerage—the open and avowed sale for money of the peerage to any man who was rich and shameless enough to be the purchaser. It depraved the Commons, it profaned the

sanctity of the Lords, it poisoned the sources of legislation and the fountains of justice, it annihilated the very idea of public honour and public integrity."

Mr. Lecky thinks that the "Life of Grattan" by his son is the best history of Ireland for the period of which it treats. Mr. Lecky, in his account of the crisis in the Irish Parliament in respect to the regency question, refers in a foot-note to the list of dismissals and promotions due to that dispute given in Grattan's Life (Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vi. p. 429). In the list of promotions there is the following entry, "Sir John Brown created Baron Kilmaine." \* A similar asterisk is affixed to the peerages of Cloncurry and Glentworth, whose origin has been already described. The asterisk directs attention to the following foot-note:—

"The three peerages that Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby [afterwards Lord Chancellor] offered to prove had been sold and the money laid out in the purchase of members in the House of Commons" (Grattan's "Life," iii. p. 391).

"The peerages," says Mr. Fitzpatrick, "of Kilmaine, Glentworth, and Cloncurry were sold for hard cash, and the proceeds laid out in the purchase of members" ("Secret Service under Pitt," p. 254).

The present holder of the title is an Irish representative peer, and voted against Home Rule on September 9th.

### XXXIII.

#### *VISCOUNT CARLETON.*

HUGH CARLETON was the son of a Cork merchant, and was called to the Irish Bar. He owed all his success to John Scott, Earl of Clonmell, who was Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland from 1784 till 1798. Lord Clonmell has in his diary placed on record his opinion of Carleton, whom he characterises as "an ungrateful monster."

Carleton was appointed Solicitor-General in 1779, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1787. He was elevated to the peerage as Baron Carleton in 1789, and in 1796 he was promoted during the Viceroyalty of Lord Camden, who was the agent provocateur of the Rebellion of 1798, to a viscounty as Viscount Carleton.

The method by which Lord Carleton, who was childless, obtained his representative peerage for "Union services is noteworthy. In the index to the Cornwallis Correspondence there is this entry, "Carleton, Viscount, judicial firmness of." A reference to the page notified in the index contains a "private" letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland written on July 26, 1796, and mentioning an offer by State prisoners to acknowledge their offences, and submit

to banishment for life, provided that their leaders, Byrne and Oliver Bond, who were then under sentence of death, should be reprieved on similar terms. Lord Cornwallis said he consulted Lord Carleton and some others.

Lord Carleton "gave his opinion in the most decided manner against listening to the proposal." The Lord-Lieutenant, though "not convinced, was perfectly sensible that he could not act in opposition" to such advice.

"The minds of men," Lord Cornwallis says in the same letter, "are now in such a state that nothing but blood will satisfy them, and although they will not admit the term, their conversation and conduct point to no other mode of concluding this unhappy business than that of extirpation."

Lord Carleton did not display much "judicial firmness" on the question of the Union. "Lord Carleton," writes Lord Cornwallis in a "private" letter on December 4, 1798, "was with me on Sunday, and gave his sentiments very firmly on the question of the Union." Just a month later, on January 5, 1799, Lord Carleton had been squared. Lord Castlereagh, in a "private" letter to the Duke of Portland writes:—

"Your Grace will learn with much satisfaction that more mature consideration has altered Lord Carleton's view of the subject [the Union], and that he is now [still condemning the time as improper] a declared supporter of the measure."

Lord Carleton's "mind was altered" in "mature consideration" of being made an Irish representative peer, and of being allowed to retire from the Irish Bench on a large pension.

"I should have thought," writes the Duke of Portland in a "most secret and confidential" letter on June 13, 1800, to Lord Cornwallis, "that the propriety of proposing a person in Lord Carleton's official situation as a representative of the peerage so very questionable as to have represented such a measure as one that could not pass without very mature consideration."

This is the Lord-Lieutenant's reply in another "secret and confidential" letter to the Duke of Portland on June 17, 1800 :—

"I give my consent to the nomination of Lord Carleton for a representative peer on the supposition only of his retiring from the Bench, which he seems to think his state of ill-health will render necessary, but the propriety of his superannuation is a matter at present by no means decided."

The suggestion here conveyed is that if Lord Carleton were allowed to retire from the Bench on a handsome pension he might well waive his claims to be a representative peer. The jobbing Chief Justice was, however, more than a match for the jobbing Lord-Lieutenant. In a "private and confidential" letter, written on July 7, 1800, by Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland, there is this passage :—

"The enclosed copy of a letter I have received from Lord Carleton, stating his claims to retire from his judicial situation under the provision of the Act of Parliament deprives me of the only argument which I could have hoped to use with success in order to induce him to relinquish the representative peerage."

We find accordingly Lord Carleton duly elected an Irish representative peer on August 2, 1800. The plea

of "ill health" which led to Lord Carleton's retirement from the Irish Bench in 1800 was unfounded. After his retirement he resided almost entirely in England, and frequently took part in the debates in the House of Lords. He lived for nearly a generation after his representation of himself in 1800 as a confirmed invalid, not dying till February, 1826. His retirement on a large pension was allowed not only on account of his "Union services," but from a desire to make a place for Mr. Toler, better known as the bloodthirsty Lord Norbury, who sat for twenty-seven years as Chief Justice of the Irish Court of Common Pleas.

## XXXIV.

### *THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY.*

MR. LEECH, referring to the episode which, in 1789, led to a deadlock between the Irish Parliament and the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord-Lieutenant, on the regency question, said: "Corruption of a most wholesale description was resorted to. Seven peers were created, nine others were promoted, several baronets were made" ("History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vi. p. 429). Three of these seven peerages—Kilmaine, Cloncurry, and Glentworth—were, beyond all doubt, sold for cash, and the proceeds laid out in the purchase of members of the House of Commons. Among the four other new peerages which were the rewards of "wholesale corruption," Mr. Grattan, who gives the list of promotions in 1789, makes this entry: "Mr. Stewart created Baron Londonderry." Mr. Stewart had been member for the County Down. The seat which was vacated by his "elevation" to the peerage, under circumstances which recall "memories of shame," was filled by his eldest son, Robert Stewart, who was afterwards to earn, under the name of Viscount Castlereagh, in the peerage of Ireland, an immortality of infamy. In March, 1795, Lord Camden

came to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant. He is credited with the introduction of that system of rigour which actually goaded the people into rebellion. The sister of Lord Camden was the second wife of Lord Londonderry, and stepmother of Mr. Robert Stewart. With a brother-in-law, Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Londonderry's subserviency to the Government in their endeavours to promote a rebellion as a means of carrying the Union was well rewarded. In October, 1795, he was created Viscount Castlereagh, and in August, 1796, Earl of Londonderry. His son was not forgotten. Mr. Stewart, who was now known by the courtesy title of Castle-reagh, was appointed by Lord Camden Keeper of the Privy Seal in Ireland. He also was made acting Chief Secretary for Ireland during the absence of Mr. Pelham, and actually appointed to that office in 1799. Lord Camden thus writes to him in a "secret" letter on November 4, 1798:—

"Mr. Pitt is disposed as much as possible to your appointment [as Chief Secretary], and although I believe there are others who entertain strong prejudices against the appointment of an Irishman to be Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, yet your merits will, I doubt not, overcome these objections."

Lord Castlereagh played the foremost part in effecting the legislative union between England and Ireland, a transaction to which Mr. Lecky thus refers:—

"Scarcely any element or aggravation of political immorality was wanting, and the term 'honour,' if it be applied to such men as Castlereagh or Pitt, ceases to have any real meaning in politics. Whatever may be thought of the abstract merits of the arrangement, the

Union as it was carried was a crime of the deepest turpitude" ("Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland," p. 198).

In Castlereagh's own constituency of Down there were 17,000 signatures against and only 415 for the Union. Lord Castlereagh's father had, up to 1796, got three steps in the peerage—one, because he supported the Government who were dealing in "wholesale corruption," and two, because he was brother-in-law of the Lord-Lieutenant. His subsequent honours were due to the fact that he was father of his son.

"I have had," writes Lord Cornwallis, in a "secret and confidential" letter to the Duke of Portland on June 17, 1800, "no communication with Lord Londonderry on the subject of a British peerage, but I felt it ought to be offered to him on account of the eminent services of his son."

On June 27, 1800, the Duke of Portland replies in another "secret and confidential" letter:—

"You cannot perform a more acceptable service to his Majesty than by reconciling Lord Londonderry and his family to abstain from availing themselves of the honour of a British peerage, which I have his Majesty's commands to say he cannot in justice withhold unless Lord Londonderry and his family are convinced that their interests are best consulted by so doing."

"The interests of Lord Londonderry and his family" were thus "consulted." Lord Londonderry, in addition to the sum of £15,000 paid down to him for "his" borough of Newtownards, was made an Irish representative peer, and thus had a seat in the House of Lords for the term of his life. In 1816 he was made Marquess

of Londonderry, in the peerage of Ireland. It was not convenient to give him a British peerage, as Castlereagh was considered of value to his party in the British House of Commons. Castlereagh was himself childless—a fact which accounts for the terrible allusion made to him by Grattan as “a sapless twig.” Lord Castlereagh’s younger brother, Charles Stewart, sat in the Irish Parliament for a short time in 1800 for the pocket borough of Thomastown, and for the county of Derry from May, 1800, till the Union. In 1814 he was, through the influence of his brother, elected to a peerage of the United Kingdom as Baron Stewart, and in 1823 he was created Earl Vane, with remainder to the male issue of his second marriage. Lord Stewart was then the third Marquess of Londonderry. His father died in 1821, and his brother, Lord Castlereagh, committed suicide in 1822, in order, as popular report goes, to escape from being charged with a crime too horrible to be mentioned. The “family honours” descended to Lord Stewart, and the special creation and limitation of the earldom of Vane to the issue of his second wife might justly be regarded as a mark of respect to his brother’s memory. All these peerages have now come to the present Marquess of Londonderry, who voted against Home Rule on the 9th of September as Earl Vane. These peerages are largely, if not wholly, due to the career of Lord Castlereagh, who has placed on record his ideas of the methods by which his masterpiece of legislation was carried. When the English Cabinet demurred to the granting of some Union peerages Castlereagh wrote :—

“ If they imagine they can take up popular grounds

by disappointing their supporters and by disgracing the Irish Government, I think they will find themselves mistaken ; it will be no secret what has been promised or by what means the Union has been secured."

On Lord Castlereagh's monument in Westminster Abbey there is this inscription, which is full of irony, "Ireland will never forget the statesman of the Union."

XXXV.

*THE EARL OF CLANCARTY.*

IN Sir Jonah Barrington's "Original Red List of the Members of the Irish Parliament who Voted against the Union in 1799 and 1800, with Observations," we are told that "the names in italics changed sides, and got either money or offices." Amongst the italicised names there is this entry:—

"142. Hon. Richard Trench. Voted against the Union in 1799; was gained by Lord Castlereagh, whose relative he married, and voted for it in 1800; was created an earl, and made an Ambassador to Holland—one of the Vienna Carvers and a Dutch Marquess."

In this case Sir Jonah seems to forget that both father and son were equally active, the one in the Lords and the other in the Commons, in the work of destroying for reward the Irish Parliament.

The father of the Hon. Richard Trench, Mr. William Trench, sat in the House of Commons as member for the County Galway from 1768 till 1797, when his services in support of Lord Camden, whose policy actually drove the people into the Rebellion of 1798, were rewarded by an Irish peerage—the Barony of Kilconnell. The Hon. Richard Trench, who had been

member for the pocket borough of Newtown Limavady, whose patron, Lord Londonderry, got £15,000 as compensation in 1800, on his father becoming a peer became member for Galway county.

In the list of "Promotions in the Irish Peerage for Union Services" there is the following entry:—

"Lord Kilconnell to be Viscount Dunlo, December 29, 1800. Now Earl of Clancarty."

It lends a piquancy to the title recently borne by the former Miss Belle Bilton to remember that this "honour" owes its origin to the corruption of the Irish Union. In 1803 Viscount Dunlo was "advanced" to the Earldom of Clancarty. These promotions in the peerage must be regarded as the joint reward both of father and son, and are, in fact, treated by Sir Jonah Barrington as "honours" to the son alone, who was related by marriage to Lord Castlereagh, and sat originally for a pocket borough belonging to that nobleman's family. The first Earl of Clancarty died in 1805; his son, who changed sides at the Union, was created a peer of the United Kingdom as Baron Trench in 1815, and raised to an English viscounty as Viscount Clancarty in 1823. He was Ambassador to the Hague, and was created by the King of the Netherlands Marquess of Heusden. Sir Jonah Barrington, as we have seen, attributes all the subsequent honours of the Earl of Clancarty to his conduct at the Union. In his "Black List" Sir Jonah again refers thus to Richard Trench:—

"128. Hon. Richard Trench. A barrister created a peer (of the United Kingdom) and made an ambassador (See 'Red List'.)"

In this case we have seen the mantle of corruption descending from father to son. The Trenches possess two Union peerages. The holder of the Union peerage of Ashtown, whose story is the first related in this series—the circumstances being almost unparalleled in their baseness—is a Trench. Members of each branch of the Trench family held the last Archbishoprics of Tuam and of Dublin in the late Established Church. Le Poer Trench, the last Archbishop of Tuam, was a son of the Union peer, Viscount Dunlo, a brother of the member “who changed sides.” Richard Trench, the last Archbishop of Dublin, was a nephew of Trench, the Union peer, Lord Ashtown.

XXXVI.

*THE EARL OF CARHAMPTON.*

COLONEL Henry Luttrell, an officer in the Irish Army of James II., was the reputed betrayer of the cause of that monarch to William III. Sir George Trevelyan speaks of Luttrell as of one

“Who after disgracing the Irish Catholic party by his excesses deserted it when Limerick fell, and was richly rewarded at the expense of the people whom he had betrayed, and of a brother who had scorned to join him in his treachery. There never was a more bare-faced instance of that venal defection which his countrymen have found at all times harder to forgive than the most flagrant acts of oppression prompted by constant hostility to their cause” (“Early History of C. J. Fox,” p. 180).

Lord Macauley, Sir George Trevelyan’s uncle, thus speaks of Henry Luttrell:—

“He was rewarded for his desertion [of James II.], and perhaps for other services, with the grant of the large estates, of his elder brother Simon, who firmly adhered to the cause of James, with a pension of £500 a year from the Crown, and with the abhorrence of the Roman Catholic population. After living in wealth,

luxury, and infamy during a quarter of a century, Henry Luttrell was murdered while going through Dublin in his sedan chair. Eighty years after his death his grave at Luttrellstown [near Dublin] was violated by the descendants of those whom he had betrayed, and his skull was broken to pieces with a pickaxe. The deadly hatred of which he was the object descended to his son and his grandson, and, unhappily, nothing in the character either of his son or his grandson tended to mitigate the feeling which the name of Luttrell excited" ("History of England, ii. p. 293).

The son of this Henry Luttrell was made successively Baron Irnham in 1768, Viscount Carhampton in 1781, and Earl of Carhampton in 1785, in the peerage of Ireland. These "honours" were conferred on their first holder on account of the political services of his eldest son, who, as Colonel Henry Luttrell, was notorious as the Parliamentary opponent of Wilkes in Middlesex. He voted as General Luttrell in the Irish Parliament consistently at the beck of the Government against all popular measures, and as second Earl of Carhampton, and Commander-in-chief of the Forces in Ireland in 1797, he deliberately, by his atrocities, goaded the people into the rebellion that was fomented as a means of carrying the Union. He was not merely a public malefactor, but a monster of foul private crime.

The year 1768 witnessed the expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons. It also witnessed the elevation to the Irish peerage, under the title of Baron Irnham, of Mr. Luttrell, whose son, Colonel Henry Luttrell, sat in the English Parliament for a Cornish

borough with eleven voters, of whom ten were officers in the Revenue. A motion that Wilkes, having been expelled, was incapable of serving in Parliament, was carried by 235 votes to 89. It was annulled in 1782 by 115 votes to 37, and expunged from the records "as being subversive of the rights of the whole body of the electors of this kingdom."

Colonel Luttrell resigned the Cornish borough to stand for Middlesex against Wilkes, who sought for re-election despite his expulsion from the House of Commons. Luttrell's reward for this service was a promise of one of the best paid posts on the staff, while the populace firmly believed he was to be married to a daughter of Lord Bute, the detested favourite of George III., to whose interests his father, the new Irish peer, had been long attached. Luttrell secured 296 votes as against 1,143 recorded for Wilkes, but was declared by the House of Commons to be member for Middlesex. "Junius," referring to the family of Luttrell, says:—

"As far as their history has been known, the son has regularly improved upon the vices of the father, and has taken care to transmit them, pure and undiminished, into the bosom of his successors."

Touching more particularly on Colonel Luttrell, "Junius" observes, "He has degraded even the house of Luttrell." When the Duke of Cumberland, the king's brother, married in 1770 Mrs. Horton, a sister of Colonel Luttrell, "Junius" called on the electors of Middlesex to rejoice because royalty had now experienced what it was to have Luttrells forced on it against its will.

At length Luttrell, finding England too hot for him,

repaired to Ireland, where he was, in the words of Sir George Trevelyan, "a member of a family which was regarded much as a Christian in the Middle Ages would regard a reputed descendant of Judas." As the holder of a rotten borough in the Irish House of Commons he aided his father in the Irish House of Lords in opposing the measures which led to Irish Parliamentary independence in 1782. Lord Irnham in 1781 became Viscount Carhampton. Again, both father and son opposed the trade proposals of the patriot party in 1785, and in that year Viscount Carhampton became Earl of Carhampton. In 1787, on the death of his father, Henry Luttrell himself became Earl of Carhampton. He was then a general in the Army; he was subsequently appointed Governor and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Dublin, and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland. The picketings, free quarters, half hangings, and pitch cappings, which at length fanned the flame of disaffection into the open rebellion of 1798, were mainly directed by Lord Carhampton. It is stated that no fewer than 1,800 persons were transported by him without trial or sentence. The army was given free quarters, cottages were burnt, peasants shot, and their wives and daughters violated. Lord Carhampton himself violated an unhappy girl named Neal, who had been decoyed into a house of ill-fame kept by a Mrs. Lewellyn. The charge made against Carhampton, though made in pamphlet and speech at the time, was never investigated by any tribunal. Mrs. Lewellyn, against whom information had been sworn by the father of the girl, was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death, but was given, through the influence of Lord Carhampton, a

free pardon by the Lord-Lieutenant (Lord Buckingham), and immediately took up her abode within the precincts of Luttrellstown. Lord Carhampton, who was known in Ireland by the name of "Satanides," sold Luttrellstown to a Mr. Luke White, afterwards Lord Annaly. One of Mr. White's first acts on obtaining Luttrellstown was to change its hateful name.

"Extinction," says Mr. Fitzpatrick, "has overtaken Lord Carhampton's peerage and race, and we therefore feel the less hesitation in publishing these details. One of the last of the family was Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, whom Sir H. Heron thus strongly refers to in his 'Notes': 'She resided with her sister, the Duchess of Cumberland, played high, and cheated much. She was commonly called the Princess Elizabeth. On the death of her sister she was thrown into gaol. There she gave a hairdresser £50 to marry her. Her debts then becoming his, she was discharged. She went abroad, where she descended lower and lower, till being convicted of picking pockets at Augsburg, she was condemned to clean the streets chained to a wheelbarrow. In that miserable situation she terminated her existence by poison'" ("Ireland before the Union," p. 129).

This woman was the daughter of the first Earl of Carhampton, and sister of "Satanides," and sister-in-law to a brother of George III.

## XXXVII.

### *THE EARL OF CLONMELL.*

JOHN SCOTT, who became Lord Chief Justice of Ireland and Earl of Clonmell, is a type of the most hateful variety of politician—the Irish coercion legal place-man. His antecedents were humble. Mr. Charles Phillips, in “Curran and his Contemporaries” speaks in reference to Scott of “personages sporting the ermine on a back that had been coatless, and of the Garter glittering on a leg that in its native bog had been unencumbered by a stocking.”

Scott was born in 1737, and was called to the Bar in 1765. He threw in his lot with the patriot party, probably with a view of selling his talents to the Government at an enhanced price. Even while in college he posed as a staunch opponent of the Government, and took a very prominent part in championing the claims of the popular candidates for the representation of Dublin University. In 1769 Lord Chancellor Lifford, who is described by Scott himself in his private diary as “an insincere trickster,” gave him an introduction to Lord Townsend, who was then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, which led to his subsequent promotion. Townsend had expressed his wishes “for the

assistance of some young gentleman at the Bar on whose talents and fidelity he might rely in the severe Parliamentary campaigns." The wily Lord Chancellor discerned the motives that actuated the patriotism of "Copper Jack," as Scott was familiarly nicknamed from the muddiness of his complexion, and advised his purchase at any price. Mr. Grattan relates that Scott, on accepting the terms of Dublin Castle, observed to the Lord-Lieutenant with brazen cynicism, "My Lord, you have spoiled a good patriot." He was immediately returned to the Irish Parliament as member for the pocket borough of Mullingar, and was appointed a King's Counsel. In 1774, when only nine years at the Bar, he was made Solicitor-General, and two years later Attorney-General, then Prime Serjeant, and at last, in 1784, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Baron Earlsfort. Mr. Scott's "services" for such rewards were the coarse brow-beating and reviling in Parliament of the men in whose ranks he had enrolled himself, and whom he deserted not from conviction, but for filthy lucre sake. "When," says Mr. Phillips, "he could not overcome he swaggered, when he could not bully he fought." He had, however, that dread of public criticism to which Irish officials are morbidly subject. In April, 1784, when just on the eve of becoming Lord Chief Justice we read in the Irish Parliamentary Debates, "The Prime Serjeant expressed his thorough detestation of newspapers and public assassins of character."

Scott was on the judicial bench for fourteen years, till his death in 1798. His career as a politician did not, of course, cease when he became a judge. On the contrary,

he obtained two further steps in the peerage for his "services" to the Government, becoming Viscount Clonmell in 1789 and Earl of Clonmell in 1793. His estates yielded, according to the computation of a contemporary, the enormous sum, at that time, of £20,000 per annum. "It was easy," says Mr. Fitzpatrick, "to amass money in those days by playing the double rôle of false trustee and Lord Chief Justice." Among the many searchingly critical notices of Lord Clonmell no allusion has been made to the circumstances in which his wealth mainly originated.

"We are informed," says Mr. Fitzpatrick, "by a very respectable solicitor, Mr. H——, that in looking over one of Lord Clonmell's rentals he was struck by the following note in reference to the property of Boolnaduff:—'Lord Clonmell, when Mr. Scott, held this in trust for a Roman Catholic who, owing to the operation of the Popery laws, was incapacitated from keeping it in his own hands. When reminded of the trust, Mr. Scott refused to acknowledge it, and thus the property fell into the Clonmell family'" ("The Sham Squire," pp. 103-104).

Lord Clonmell had all through his career been associated with a miscreant named Higgins, who was known as the "Sham Squire," owing to an impudent deception which procured for him three months' imprisonment. Higgins had been made, through Clonmell's influence, a justice of the peace, although well known to be the proprietor of an infamous gaming hell. He was, however, the owner of a newspaper in the pay of the Government, and the man who is now proved to have obtained the bribe of £1,000 for the betrayal of Lord

Edward Fitzgerald. A popular journalist named Magee attacked Higgins, who immediately sued Magee for libel in the court of his friend and associate the Chief Justice. Lord Clonmell, on an affidavit of Higgins's stating generally that he had suffered damage from Magee's writings, signed a fiat against Magee in June, 1789, for a writ to be issued marked in the sum of £7,800 on which writ Magee was arrested. The writ ordered that he should either find bail to the amount of such sum or remain in prison. The Lord Chief Justice allowed Higgins three terms before requiring him to bring his action, and Magee was thus kept in a dungeon for nine months in default of bail, although whenever the trial should come off there might be a verdict in his favour.

In March, 1790, this flagitious case of oppression was brought before the Irish House of Commons. The proposed vote of censure on the Chief Justice was rejected by Government influence, but the practice of issuing fiats was soon after, to his intense humiliation, restricted to a fixed and definite sum.

The year of this judicial misconduct witnessed the Chief Justice's promotion in the peerage by the Government, whose agent he protected. Here is the entry in his diary :—

"September 20, 1789. Last month I became a viscount [Clonmell], and from want of circumspection in trying a cause against a printer [Magee] I have been grossly abused for several months. I have endeavoured to make that abuse useful toward my earldom."

He was, in 1793, made Earl of Clonmell by acting, according to a description given of him in the Irish

House of Commons, as "the uniform drudge of every Administration."

Here are some of the maxims in the diary of this fraudulent trustee and Lord Chief Justice:—

"Use everybody for your own purpose. Flatter all through. Every moment afford an opportunity of serving yourself, and act up to it. Let your discipline be inflexible in pursuit of your own advantage, entertainment, and praise."

On the eve of his death, which took place in May, 1798, the day before the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion, Lord Clonmell sent for Mr. Valentine Lawless, who was afterwards Lord Cloncurry, and said,

"My dear Val, I have been a fortunate man through life. I am a chief justice and an earl, but were I to begin the world again I would rather be a chimney sweeper than connected with the Irish Government" ("Personal Recollections of Lord Cloncurry," p. 46).

### XXXVIII.

#### *THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE.*

JOHN HELY-HUTCHINSON, the founder of the Donoughmore family, is now principally remembered by the witticism of Lord North that "if you were to give him the whole of Great Britain and Ireland for an estate he would ask the Isle of Man for a potato garden."

He assumed the name of Hutchinson on his marriage with an heiress, was called to the Bar in 1748, and speedily obtained an extensive practice. He invested some of his savings in the purchase of a seat in the Irish House of Commons for the pocket borough of Gainsborough, whose patron got on its disfranchisement in 1800 the sum of £15,000 as "compensation." Hely-Hutchinson was a success in the House. He opposed Government upon almost every question, but his opposition was of no long continuance. In 1761, two years after his entrance into Parliament, he became member for Cork, Prime Serjeant, and Privy Councillor. In 1774 he had, in addition to his private practice, the Prime Serjeantry, worth £1,000 per annum, and the office of Alnager of Ireland—an office for stamping cloth—the fees of which he farmed out for £800 per annum, while he increased the income of the post by an addition of

£1,000 per annum. He had also secured the reversion of the office of Principal Secretary of State, which fell into his possession in 1777, with an annual salary of £1,800. In 1774 Sir John Blaquiere induced the Lord-Lieutenant to promote Hutchinson to the great office of Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Hutchinson was totally unfitted to be the head of a university. He was a graduate of Trinity College, but he was neither a fellow nor a scholar, although in his year there were elections to no fewer than twenty-one scholarships. From 1774 till his death, in 1794, Hutchinson scandalised the position of Provost. He still continued to hold his seat in Parliament, and actually sent a challenge and fought a duel within a year of his appointment as head of the university. He set himself to work to make Trinity College, which returned two members to Parliament, and whose constituents consisted only of provost, fellows, and scholars—a pocket borough for his family. In 1776 his eldest son was returned as member for Trinity College. A petition was lodged, and he was declared “unduly elected.” The Provost was unabashed by this conviction, and next year became Principal Secretary of State, and in 1783 procured the elevation of his wife to the Irish peerage as Baroness Donoughmore, with remainder to her sons. A few years later he endeavoured to provide for his third son, Francis, by securing his election as member for Trinity College. Two petitions were presented against this return, and they were referred to a committee. The result was remarkable. Seven of the members of the committee, including Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the future Duke of Wellington, voted to declare the election void, six members voted for the

validity of the election, but the chairman—a Government creature having a right to vote in the place of an absent member—gave that vote to the minority, and then gave his casting vote for the validity of the election.

The Provost died in 1794. His eldest son, Lord Donoughmore, became a Viscount in 1797 for helping Lord Camden to kindle a rebellion in order to carry the Union. In 1800 he obtained the earldom of Donoughmore, with remainder to his brothers, for influencing Cork in favour of the Union, and for preventing the freeholders of Tipperary from holding meetings to protest against that measure. In 1800 also this gentleman was “elected” an Irish representative peer, and in 1821 created Viscount Hutchinson in the peerage of the United Kingdom, with remainder to his brothers.

Francis, the Provost’s third son, remained member for Trinity College till the general election of 1797, when the electors promptly got rid of him. From 1797 till the Union he sat for the pocket borough of Naas. He got for his vote for the Union the post of collector of Dublin Port, with a salary of £1,200 per annum, which he held till his death in 1827. He is the ancestor of the present Earl of Donoughmore, who, as Viscount Hutchinson, voted against Home Rule on September 9th.

## XXXIX.

### *LORD CLIVE.*

OF the Irish peerages conferred on Englishmen without any connection with Ireland, that bestowed on Robert Clive on his second return from India is, perhaps, the most infamous.

Robert Clive was born in 1725, at Market Drayton, in Shropshire, and was the eldest son of a small country squire. At eighteen he obtained a writership in the service of the East India Company, and was sent off to Madras, and soon, as a military officer of the East India Company, exhibited an extraordinary strategic genius and unparalleled daring in destroying the rapid and brilliant career of the French rival East India Company. He came home in 1752 with a "moderate fortune," "considerable sums of prize money having fallen to his share." This money was dissipated in the course of two years by a contested election for the old Cornish borough of St. Michael, followed by a petition on which he was unseated.

In 1755 he again sailed for India to repair his fortune as Governor of Fort St. David, in Madras. The fall of Calcutta and the terrible tragedy of the Black Hole induced the authorities at Madras to fit out an expedi-

tion to Bengal to take vengeance on the monster Surajah Dowlah. Clive commanded the military forces. In this expedition he showed that he was, in the words of Mr. Mill, "a man to whom deception, when it suited his purpose, never cost a pang." One act of dishonour followed another in his negotiations with Surajah Dowlah. He even forged the name of Admiral Watson, who commanded the naval forces.

After the battle of Plassey, Clive received from Meer Jaffier, as a reward for his elevation to the throne of Surajah Dowlah, sums in all amounting to £234,000. This transaction was sixteen years afterwards severely criticised in Parliament. Clive, when examined before a committee of the House of Commons, had the audacity to say in reference to his conduct on this occasion, "By God, Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation."

Clive returned to England in 1760 with a clear £40,000 per annum. He immediately applied his energies to purchase rotten boroughs, and appeared in the Parliament of 1761 at the head of seven dependent creatures who held their seats to vote at his bidding. He gave his influence to the despotic party in the State, and became a prime favourite with George III., who created him Baron Clive of "Plassey in Ireland" in 1762. The same year Queen Charlotte stood sponsor for his infant daughter.

The third visit of Clive to India in 1765, for the purpose of rectifying the abuses of the Company's administration, was the origin, indirectly, of the Parliamentary investigation in 1773 into Clive's atrocities. The whole history of the Omichund and Meer Jaffier

transactions were carefully sifted, and Clive complained that he (Baron of Plassey) had been treated like a sheep stealer.

The corrupt House of Commons of the day let him off with an implied rather than an expressed rebuke for crimes which the chairman of the committee described as "shocking to human nature." In 1774, a year afterwards, he died by his own hand.

This forger, liar, and public robber was not content with being an Irish peer. A letter is still extant in which he implores a British peerage on account of his services in the House of Commons in opposition to Wilkes. Clive's son obtained a British peerage, and was eventually created Earl of Powis. The present Earl of Powis, the holder of the "Clive family honours," voted against Home Rule on September 9th.

XL.

*THE EARL OF KILKENNY.*

IN the archives of Dublin Castle there is a letter dated August 27, 1794, from an informer in the pay of Mr. Cooke, the Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle, who was afterwards the chief Government gutter agent in bribing members of the Irish House of Commons to vote for the Union. The letter is anonymous, but its writer has been identified. His name was Collins, on whom a letter from Cooke, preserved in the Record Office, London, mentions that £200 per annum had been settled, and that he had been recommended for office in the West Indies. Mr. Fitzpatrick directs attention to the "stealthy style" of this missive, which is as follows:—

"SIR,—I have made every possible inquiry, and I have reason to think that there are now foreign agents here who have frequent conferences with a noble viscount and his brother, who is a lawyer, also with J—hn K—gh, Ed—d B—ne, and Richard M'C—m—k. For your information you have a list of such U—I—men as I think really dangerous from abilities. As to inclination the whole of the society are nearly alike.

"You may be assured that whatever steps Mr. Tandy

has for some time past taken, or is now pursuing, are by the advice of the above-mentioned noble viscount and Mr. Gr—tt—an, and also that let the pretensions (for the present) of the R—m—n Ca— be ever so moderate, the real design of their leaders is to effect a separation between this country and Gr—t B—t—n.—I remain, &c., &c.”

The “noble viscount” alluded to in this letter, the latter part of which might easily be incorporated into any Primrose League speech at the present day, was Edward Viscount Mountgarrett. His brother was the Hon. Simon Buller, who was subsequently sentenced by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to be imprisoned for six months, and to pay a fine of £500 to the King for taking the chair at a meeting of the Society of United Irishmen, in which a declaration was proposed and adopted pronouncing as illegal certain proceedings of the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Lords, compelling witnesses to answer on oath questions compromising themselves (Fitzpatrick’s “Secret Service under Pitt,” pp. 163–165).

Lord Mountgarrett died on July 16, 1793, and on the very day of his death Lord Clonmell, who was then Chief Justice of Ireland, and high in favour of the Government, who made him an Earl in the following December, thus writes in his private diary:—

“July 16, 1793.—Died, Lord Mountgarrett, as wicked a malignant selfish monster as I ever knew, a victim to his brutal appetite and thirst for blood; a lesson to vice, and a caution to be civil to all, obliging to many, to serve few, to offend none, as the safest, wisest, pleasantest mode of going through life.”

The son of Viscount Mountgarrett was, on December 20, 1793, "advanced" to the earldom of Kilkenny by patent. He was then a young man in his twenty-third year. His sole qualification for this elevation was that his father, who was so described on the day of his death, and literally before he was cold, by the Chief Justice, was, with his uncle, who had been fined and imprisoned that year, believed by the Government to have been plotting for the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. The conferring of an earldom by the Government on the son of a man whom they considered a traitor, and who had no merits of his own, must be regarded as a diplomatic manoeuvre to wean him from the politics of his family at the cost, in the opinion at least of Dublin Castle, of the degradation of the Irish peerage. Mr. Fitzpatrick attracts attention to this promotion by the significant heading, "How to Bribe a Peer" ("Secret Service under Pitt," p. 165).

## XLI.

### *LORD TYRAWLEY.*

JAMES CUFFE was the son of a person of the same name who was for many years member in the Irish Parliament for the county of Mayo. James Cuffe, senior, used his influence in Parliament as a Government drudge in favour of James Cuffe, junior, who was sent to Portugal in 1762 as military ambassador. He was Commissioner of Barracks from 1772 till 1776. In the latter year he succeeded his father in the "representation" of Mayo, and was promoted to be Superintendent-General of Barracks. From 1776 till he was made a Peer under the title of Lord Tyrawley in 1797 by Lord Camden, Mr. Cuffe was the obedient servant of every Administration. His public life was that of the spiritless, unconscientious venal hack of Dublin Castle. His private life shocked even the lax morality of the times. He was married to a Miss Gorringe, to whom he was notoriously unfaithful. This lady secured a separation, after which Lord Tyrawley lived in open adultery with another woman, who bore him many children. Lord Tyrawley a few months before the Act of Union was passed procured a seat for the nomination borough of Tulske, which was afterwards disfranchised at the cost

of £15,000 "compensation" for Colonel Cuffe, his notorious eldest son. He had already obtained for Colonel Cuffe a military appointment, but he wished to better his son's chances of promotion by bringing him into the Irish Parliament for the purpose of voting for its destruction. Lord Tyrawley had the audacity to ask for a peerage to be conferred on his illegitimate son in recognition of his "Union services" at the time of the Union. Lord Cornwallis, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, has left on record his detestation of the work of corruption in which he was engaged.

"How I long," he writes, "to kick those whom my public duty obliges me to court! If I did not hope to get out of this country I would almost certainly pray for immediate death" (Cornwallis Correspondence, iii. p. 100).

He subsequently describes himself as "negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven." In asking for a peerage for Lord Tyrawley's son, Lord Cornwallis stated that he had prepared the applicant for its probable refusal, but he added, "If his lordship [Tyrawley] can be gratified in this instance it will accommodate the Administration here [in Ireland] by his waving (*sic*) his claim to the representative peerage and assisting us in other matters which it is unnecessary to detail" (Cornwallis Correspondence, iii. p. 241).

The nature of the "other matters," about which the Viceroy is reticent, may be guessed by an observation in a letter written in 1866 to Mr. Fitzpatrick by a gentleman who was then in his eighty-eighth year, and who had personally known Lord Tyrawley:—

"He was a man of such power at the time [of the

Union] that his order on the Secret Service Fund for 20 or 50 pounds would be as strictly attended to as if it were on his own banker" ("Ireland before the Union," p. 220).

The Duke of Portland, in his "most secret and confidential" reply to Lord Cornwallis, is willing to hope that Lord Tyrawley is become so sensible of the impropriety of persisting "in his request on behalf of Colonel Cuffe as to withdraw it altogether" (Cornwallis Correspondence, iii. p. 257). His Grace was, however, mistaken. Lord Cornwallis, in another "secret and confidential" letter, says:—

"I beg leave to assure your Grace that I have not made Lord Tyrawley or any other person in this country sensible of the impropriety of their pretensions, nor have I the most distant hope of succeeding in an attempt of this nature" (Cornwallis Correspondence, iii. p. 263).

As Lord Cornwallis had only promised to "recommend" Colonel Cuffe for a peerage, the request was refused. Lord Tyrawley, however, who, notwithstanding the open scandal of his life, had been raised to the Irish peerage and sworn a member of the Irish Privy Council, was "elected," through the influence of the Lord-Lieutenant, as compensation for his disappointment in not getting a peerage for his son, an Irish Representative Peer, thus securing for life a seat in the House of Lords of the Imperial Parliament, which he entered as a notorious adulterer. In 1803 he obtained, in addition to his other offices, a Commissionership of Public Works, which he held till his death. This promotion was, of course, the result of a "Union arrangement."

## XLII.

### *VISCOUNT AVONMORE.*

BARRY YELVERTON was born at Newmarket, in the County Cork. His parents were humble Catholic peasants in the poorest circumstances. Yelverton got a sound classical education in the village school of Newmarket, where Curran also was educated. Curran was fond of relating in after life Barry Yelverton's early aspirations to be a fine gentleman. "I wish, mother," said Barry, "I had eleven shirts." "Eleven, Barry, why eleven?" "Because, mother, I am of opinion that a gentleman, to be comfortable, ought to have the dozen." Barry's religion stood in the way of his being a fine gentleman, so he became a Protestant, and was received at Trinity College, Dublin, with open arms.

In 1764 he was called to the Irish Bar, and quickly saw his road to advancement by the advocacy of popular politics. In 1774 he obtained a seat in Parliament, and forced himself into notoriety by going for John Scott (Lord Clonmell), who had been purchased by the Government, and who was then a law officer. Yelverton characterised Scott as the uniform drudge of every Administration, and Scott termed Yelverton "the seneschal of sedition." Yelverton attached himself to

Grattan, whose cause he saw was likely to succeed. The change in the Irish Constitution, by which the legislative independence of the Irish Parliament was secured in 1782, is still called Yelverton's Act. In 1782 he was made Attorney-General in the popular Viceroyalty of the Duke of Portland; in 1784 became Chief Baron of the Irish Court of Exchequer; and in 1795 was raised to the peerage as Baron Yelverton. At the approach of the Union pressing debts mark him literally the henchman and slave of the Government. He presided in 1798 over the trial of Orr, a United Irishman, for whose conviction the Government strained every nerve. It subsequently appeared that the jury by whom Orr had been convicted were guilty of the grossest misconduct—bottles of whisky having been brought surreptitiously into the jury room. An agitation was started for Orr's reprieve; but the Chief Baron, willing to do a favour to the Government, in whose power he was, and who could at any moment have obtained his dismissal from the Bench, stated he saw no reason for interference with the due course of the law. Orr was hanged, and his death has always been regarded in Ireland as a foul judicial murder. In the Union debates Yelverton became in the Irish House of Lords a simple Government hack. Sir Jonah Barrington wrote:—

“Through the influence of the Duke of Portland and the absolute necessity of a family provision, on the question of the Union the radiance of his public character was obscured for ever, and, having with zeal and sincerity laboured to obtain independence for his country in 1782, he became one of its salemasters in 1800.”

"It may be," says Mr. Charles Phillips, "that the vote which he unfortunately gave on that occasion was the result of his honest conviction : however, it was too true that a very lucrative office was the consequence of it."

His son-in-law, Mr. Bingham, was immediately after the Union made Lord Clanmorris. Again, places taken from members of the Downshire family in consequence of their opposition to the Union were immediately bestowed on relations of Yelverton. In addition to the rewards for his family he insisted on being raised a step in the peerage for his Union services. He was accordingly created Viscount Avonmore in December, 1800. A letter, quoted by Mr. Lecky, from Mr. Abbot, who was Chief Secretary for Ireland, and afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons, contained the following :—

"Lord Avonmore, whose learning and talents are unquestionably great, is nevertheless so totally negligent of propriety of manners, and so extremely embarrassed in his private concerns, that it is hardly creditable for the King's service for him to remain Chief Baron of the Exchequer. His very salary is assigned to pay his creditors by deed enrolled in his own court" (Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," viii. p. 467).

Lord Avonmore died in 1805 ; the title thus procured and its surroundings were drawn over thirty years ago into an unenviable notoriety. The heir-apparent to the Avonmore title, now long since dead, was a defendant in one of the most heartless and disgraceful marriage suits ever heard in a court of justice. The late Mr. Whiteside,

who was afterwards Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, appeared for the injured lady. He was then a member of the House of Commons, and on his appearance in Parliament after the trial of *Thelwall v. Yelverton* he was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers from members of all parties in the House of Commons.

## XLIII.

### *THE MARQUESS CONYNTHAM.*

THERE are no fewer than eight peerages attached to the Marquessate of Conyntham, and every one of these peerages owes its origin to circumstances of grave public and private dishonour.

Henry Conyntham, for subserviency to the Government while sitting in the Irish House of Commons as member for the pocket borough of Killybegs from 1727 till 1753, in addition to the gift of a sinecure office of Captain of the Horse on the Irish Establishment, was in 1753, for his opposition to the claim of the Irish House of Commons to originate money bills, created Baron Conyntham. Three years later he was advanced to a Viscounty. Again, in 1781, when a persistent effort was made to break the spirit of the Irish Volunteers and to crush Henry Grattan, Viscount Conyntham was created Earl and Baron Conyntham, the barony to descend in case of failure of male issue to his nephew Francis Burton, who sat in the Irish Parliament as a Government drudge, member for Clare. The Burtons, who succeeded only to the Barony of Conyntham, were destined to be advanced to "high honours" in the peerage for services

compared with which the basest dishonour becomes honourable.

Henry Burton, third Baron Conyngham, was created Viscount Conyngham of Mount Charles on December 6, 1789, for his support of the Government in thwarting the wishes and views of the Irish Parliament on the Regency question. His lordship was then opposed to conferring of full powers on George IV. in the event of his becoming Regent. His sentiments towards George IV., after his marriage in 1794, underwent a considerable change. In 1797 he became Viscount Mountcharles and Earl Conyngham. These "honours" were conferred upon him by Lord Camden, the Lord-Lieutenant of the day, whom he aided in the promotion of measures which were designed for the purpose of goading the Irish people into the rebellion of 1798.

Lord Conyngham embraced with ardour the chance of further advancement presented to him by the Union scheme. In a "private" letter written by Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland describing his efforts to obtain expressions of public opinion in favour of the Union, we read:—

"Lord Conyngham, who is a most zealous friend, made an attempt on the Speaker's town of Drogheda, and obtained the support of some members of the corporation and many respectable inhabitants, but I do not think the prospect sufficiently promising to encourage him to persevere" (Cornwallis Correspondence, iii. p. 140).

The "zealous friend" was rewarded by being made an Irish representative peer on the proposal of Lord Cornwallis, and by obtaining £15,000 "compensation"

for the disfranchisement of "his" borough of Killybegs. He was, moreover, a general officer in the Army and a Knight of St. Patrick.

We have now traced in outline the history of Lord Conyngham's "honours" up to the Union. His subsequent "elevations" in the peerage are due to his connivance at the dishonour of his wife, Elisabeth Denison, who was mistress of George IV. This fact is so notorious that Mr. Bagehot, in his work on the British Constitution, alludes to it thus :—

"When there is no Court there can be no evil influence from a Court. 'The king,' says a writer in George IV.'s time, 'is in our favour, and, what is more to the purpose, the Marchioness of Conyngham is too'" ("English Constitution," p. 72).

Mr. Sumner, the last Prince Bishop of Winchester, owed his position exclusively to the fact that he had been tutor to Lady Conyngham's son. In Greville's Diary there is this amusing entry :—

"June 24, 1821.—The King [George IV.] dined at Devonshire House last Thursday sennight. Lady Conyngham had on her head a sapphire which belonged to the Stuarts and was given by Cardinal York to the King. He gave it to the Princess Charlotte, and when she died he desired to have it back, Leopold being informed it was a Crown jewel. This Crown jewel sparkled in the head of the marchioness at the ball" (Greville's Journals, i. p. 48).

The Unionist peer, the husband of this infamous woman, as the price of his own dishonour, was on January 22, 1816, created Viscount Slane, Earl of Mountcharles, and Marquess Conyngham, "all in the

Peerage of Ireland," and on July 17, 1821—within a month after "the Crown jewel had sparkled in the head-dress" of his degraded wife—"he was," in the words of Burke's Peerage, "made a peer of the United Kingdom as Baron Minster, of Minster Abbey, co. Kent."

Charles Greville writing on May 14, 1829, thus refers to Lady Conyngham:—

"The wealth she has accumulated by savings and presents must be enormous. The King continues to heap all kinds of presents upon her, and she lives at his expense. They [the Conynghams] do not possess a servant. They have all situations in the King's household, from which they receive their pay while they continue in the service of the Conynghams. A more despicable scene cannot be exhibited than that which the interior of our Court presents—every base, low, unmanly propensity, with selfishness, avarice, and a life of petty intrigue and mystery" (Greville's Journals, i. p. 207).

The present Marquess Conyngham voted as "Baron Minster in the Peerage of the United Kingdom" against Home Rule on September 9th.

## XLIV.

### *LORD MUSKERRY.*

IN 1780 the Volunteer movement in Ireland had assumed a position of enormous importance, and the patriot party in the Irish Parliament had determined to press the adoption of measures which would assimilate the Irish and the English Constitutions. The Government determined to offer these proposals a most uncompromising opposition.

"Parliamentary influence," says Mr. Lecky, "was carefully collected and fostered by the old plan of lavishing promises of peerages, baronetcies, and pensions; and in February, 1780, Buckingham [the Lord-Lieutenant] already writes that he had secured his majority, and could count upon the general support of 154 members out of the 300 [members of the Irish House of Commons]. Of the 154 members the Lord-Lieutenant counted, 78 had already either pensions or places. We shall presently see," adds Mr. Lecky, "what promises had been given to stimulate their zeal" ("History of England in the Eighteenth Century," iv. p. 505).

For a time the cause of popular liberty was strangled

in the Irish Parliament. A declaration of independence, introduced by Grattan, on April 19, 1780, into the Irish House of Commons, was, after fifteen hours' debate, dropped without a division, leaving no entry of it in the Journals. Then, again, a proposition for the amendment of the law which enabled the Irish and English Privy Councils to control the legislation of the Irish Parliament was defeated by 180 votes to 105, and a Mutiny Bill introduced after the model of the English Mutiny Act to continue for one year was converted into a Perpetual Mutiny Act. The session ended on September 2nd, and one of the last acts of the House of Commons was to censure resolutions of the Volunteers, expressing disapproval of their proceedings as seditious and libellous, and to call upon the Lord-Lieutenant to institute prosecutions against the printers and publishers.

The Lord-Lieutenant, who described himself as a man whose mind had been ulcerated with a variety of embarrassments for thirty weary months, had triumphed in the Irish Parliament, but he had to pay for his victory. Six days after the close of the session he wrote the following letter to Lord North, the English Prime Minister :—

“ DUBLIN CASTLE, *September 8, 1780.*

“ MY LORD,—Nothing could be more against my inclinations than the yielding to solicitations of gentlemen upon the line of peerage but without engagements, strongly to recommend several to that mark of his Majesty's favour at the close of the session. It would have been impossible for me in any sort to have

surmounted the various difficulties which have lately attended Government."

The first of the names which Buckingham requested North to submit to his Majesty is that of the first Lord Muskerry.

"Sir Robert Deane," says Buckingham, "has uniformly with four friends supported his Majesty's measures, and has never suggested a difficulty upon any occasion. His property is very considerable."

Sir Robert Deane was on November 5, 1781, elevated to the Peerage of Ireland as Baron Muskerry, for his aid in delaying for a few months Grattan's Constitution.

The present Lord Muskerry voted against Home Rule on September 9th. He was elected an Irish representative peer in 1892, on the death of Lord Castlemaine, the origin of whose peerage has been narrated in this series.

XLV.

*LORD RIVERSDALE.*

THE first Lord Cloncurry, who obtained his own peerage in 1789 by paying, as we have seen, hard cash down for the elevation, purchased the borough of Rathcormac, in the county of Cork, on most advantageous terms—in short, “a dead bargain.” After a few years an eligible opportunity appeared for disposing of it on equally favourable terms to himself. Lieutenant-Colonel William Tonson, of the 53rd Regiment, Governor of Cork Garrison, and previously Member of Parliament for the borough of Tuam, took a most immoderate fancy to Rathcormac and offered Cloncurry (then Nicholas Lawless) a sum for his title thereto, which he appears to have had very little hesitation in accepting. Colonel Tonson, having become the proprietor of the borough, had very little difficulty in getting himself elected its representative. In 1776 he was accordingly, at the General Election, returned therefor. (Fitzpatrick’s “Life and Times of Cloncurry,” pp. 80–81.) Colonel Tonson became the subservient drudge of the Administration—a gentleman whose vote could be implicitly relied on in antagonism to popular measures. The letter of the Lord-Lieutenant

to Lord North recommending Colonel Tonson for a peerage admits a state of such shameless political profligacy that it is transcribed in full:—

“DUBLIN CASTLE, *September 22, 1780.*

“MY LORD,—Among the gentlemen whom in my letter to your Lordship of the 8th inst. I submitted to his Majesty for the dignity of peerage in this kingdom, I should have included Wm. Tonson, Esq., for that honour, but that some matters which had been misconceived required first to be explained. That has since been done entirely to my satisfaction, and I request your Lordship will lay before his Majesty my humble recommendation that Mr. Tonson may obtain this mark of his royal favour.

“Mr. Tonson is a gentleman of very considerable estate in this country, is zealously attached to his Majesty's person and Government, and has uniformly and steadily supported Administration. He will bring a friend of Government into the House of Commons upon his being called up to the House of Peers. He engages to bring into Parliament at the next General Election any person nominated by Government, and he has signified to me his determination in future to give Administration the nomination of members for his borough of Rathcormac until his sons shall be of age to sit in Parliament. I have the honour to be, &c.,

“BUCKINGHAM.”

The Government did not trust to Mr. Tonson's honour to fulfil his “engagements” with respect to the borough of Rathcormac. The creation of his

peerage was deferred till the dissolution of the Parliament in which he sat, and till he had actually placed in the representation of his borough two Castle creatures. The new Parliament met in October, 1788; and on October 18, 1788, Mr. Tonson was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Riversdale of Rathcormac.

At the Union Rathcormac was disfranchised, and the second Lord Riversdale received £15,000 "compensation" for the loss of a "property" to which he owed his peerage.

## XLVI.

### *THE EARL OF MAYO.*

IN 1776 the Government found it hard to contend with the growing national spirit in Ireland which was reflected even in the corrupt Irish Parliament. Accordingly it resorted to a system of lavish pecuniary bribery and reckless expenditure in the creation of pensions.

"But in addition to the grant of these pensions," writes Mr. Lecky, "a step was taken which in England would probably have been followed by an impeachment. Eighteen Irish peers were created in a single day, and seven barons and five viscounts were at the same time raised a step in the peerage. The terms of the bargain were well known to be an engagement to support the Government by their votes in the House of Lords, by their substitutes and their influence in the House of Commons" (Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. iv. p. 441).

John Bourke, who was the proprietor of the nomination borough of Naas, for which he sat, was one of the eighteen gentlemen who were "ennobled" on these terms. He was created Lord Naas in 1776; he was also a Privy Councillor, and had held for many years a Commissionership at the Irish Revenue Board, with a

salary of £1,088 per annum. He had also contrived to obtain for his son the great post of Archbishop of Tuam.

In 1780 Lord Buckingham, who was hard pressed to reward the men through whose votes he had succeeded for a time in obstructing Mr. Grattan's measures, recommended to Lord North, the Prime Minister, that Lord Naas should be permitted to retire from his Commissionership on full pay, in order that the place might be filled by a Parliamentary drudge named Tighe, and that Lord Naas should be made a Viscount.

"Lord Naas," writes the Lord-Lieutenant, "has been Commissioner of the Revenue nearly thirty years, and has constantly approved himself in both Houses of Parliament the zealous servant of the Crown and the attached friend of Government. These are *just titles for consideration* (*sic italics*), and give him a claim to retire from business without any diminution of the income he enjoys, and with some distinguishing mark of the royal favour. I therefore desire your lordship to lay my humble recommendation before the King that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to approve that Lord Naas be permitted to retire upon a pension of £1,088 per annum, to commence from the time of his being succeeded in the office of a Commissioner of the Revenue, and that his Majesty may advance him to the dignity of a Viscount of this kingdom."

Lord Naas was accordingly created on January 13, 1781, Viscount Mayo, and in 1785 he succeeded—in recognition of the votes of himself and his son, the Archbishop, in the House of Lords, and of the votes of his nominees, the members for Naas, in the House of

Commons, in support of the Government against the sense of the people on the Commercial Propositions of 1785—in being elevated to the earldom of Mayo.

The rotten borough of Naas, which had been utilised so effectively by the Bourke family, was “disfranchised” at the Union, the Earl of Mayo of the time receiving £15,000 as “compensation” for the destruction of a “property” which had procured for him no fewer than three titles and vast sums of public money for various members of his family.

The present Earl of Mayo, as an Irish representative peer, voted against Home Rule on the 9th of September. His paternal uncle, Lord Connemara, who as the Hon. Robert Bourke was Governor of Madras, and was created a peer of the United Kingdom in 1887, also voted against Home Rule on the 9th of September. Lord Connemara was divorced from his wife in November, 1890, on the ground of adultery and cruelty.

## XLVII.

### *THE EARL OF BELMORE.*

MR. FROUDE records the fact that when the Commissioners were appointed by the English Parliament to inquire into the gross frauds by which the Irish estates, confiscated after the defeat of the cause of James II., had been portioned among Court favourites and swindlers, they reported that one James Corry obtained "a heavy mortgage and an estate," "the considerations mentioned in his letters patent being that his house was burnt, and that he furnished the garrison at Enniskillen with provisions and materials to the value of £8,000 at his own expense." When the Commissioners inquired into the merits of this gentleman it appeared that he had given no assistance whatever to the garrison at Enniskillen; that in the town of Enniskillen he had declared publicly that he hoped to see all those hanged that took up arms for the Prince of Orange; and that his house had been burnt by the Protestant soldiers as a punishment for his disloyalty. Mr. Froude informs us in a foot-note that this James Corry was the ancestor of the Earl of Belmore ("English in Ireland," pp. 222-223).

The letters of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, recommending for peerages

members of the House of Commons who for some years had obstructed and retarded the popular policy of Mr. Grattan, are still extant. On September 22, 1780, the Lord-Lieutenant wrote to Lord North, the Premier, whose obstinate adherence to coercion lost us our American Colonies, a letter from which we take the following paragraphs :—

“MY LORD,—Nothing could be more against my inclinations than the yielding to solicitations of gentlemen upon the line of peerage, but without engagements, strongly to recommend several to that mark of his Majesty’s favour at the close of the session ; it would have been impossible for me in any sort to have surmounted the various difficulties that have lately attended Government. I must, therefore, request that your lordship will submit the following names to his Majesty.”

Here is the inception of the Corry “hereditary honours” :—

“My private wish,” writes the Lord-Lieutenant, “would certainly influence in favour of Mr. Armar Lowry-Corry, but his extensive property, his having supported Government though elected for the County Tyrone by popular interest, his having also induced another gentleman to follow his example, may give him some claim to his Majesty’s favour.”

The Viceroy’s public grounds for this application were that the candidate for the peerage had betrayed his trust to his constituents, had seduced another Member of Parliament from the popular side, and had a large

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property, of which his ancestor, the hero of James II.'s time, had laid the foundation. The Viceroy's "private wish" to forward Mr. Corry's interest arose from the fact that Mr. Corry had a few months previously married his daughter. This marriage was afterwards dissolved by Act of Parliament. Accordingly, in January, 1781, Mr. Corry was elevated to the Irish peerage as Baron Belmore. In 1789 Corry obtained a further promotion in the peerage, which was bought by his opposition to the patriot party on the Regency question. He then became Viscount Belmore. In 1797 he was made Earl of Belmore for his support in the Irish House of Lords through thick and thin of the Administration of Lord Camden, the Lord-Lieutenant who deliberately goaded the Irish people into rebellion in order to carry the Union; and although in 1800 both he and his son opposed the Union, he made well by that transaction, since he received the enormous sum of £80,000 as "compensation" for the loss of his "property" in two nomination boroughs which were disfranchised.

The present Earl of Belmore, as an Irish representative peer, voted against Home Rule on September 9, 1893.

## XLVIII.

### *THE EARL OF ERNE.*

IN 1768 the popular party in the Irish Parliament had so far triumphed as to carry a Bill for the shortening of the duration of Parliament, which, unless dissolved, lasted during the lifetime of the sovereign to eight years. The rising spirit of liberty in the Irish Parliament was viewed with great fear by the English Government, who, it was subsequently confessed, expended half a million on the corruption of members of the House of Commons.

Immediately after the session of 1768—the Parliament was dissolved in May—as an earnest of the favours to be expected by those who supported the Government against popular rights, four peers were raised a step in the peerage and four new peers were created.

One of the new peers was Abraham Creighton, member for Enniskillen, who was elevated to the peerage on July 15, 1768, as Baron Erne. His son, the second Lord Erne, followed his father's footsteps in subserviency to the Crown and opposition in the hope of reward to the wishes of the people. Lord Buckingham, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, thus

recommends him in a letter to Lord North, the Prime Minister, for a peerage in consideration of his past services in obstructing Mr. Grattan's policy and his undertakings for the future :—

“ The following noblemen having distinguished themselves as the zealous friends of his Majesty's Government, I think it my duty to prefer their applications that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to confer on them an advancement of their rank in the peerage of this kingdom.”

Lord Erne is recommended in this letter for a Viscounty. “ Lord Erne,” writes the Lord-Lieutenant, “ engages to bring a member of Parliament to be recommended by the Government on the next general election, and will be responsible for the conduct of his brother, who will then come into Parliament under his influence.” In pursuance of this recommendation Lord Erne was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Erne in 1781.

Eight years afterwards, when Parliamentary institutions in Ireland were almost overwhelmed with an avalanche of corruption for the purpose of putting down the opposition of the patriot party to the Government on the Regency question, no fewer than thirteen peers obtained advancement in the peerage, and in the list of these promotions—which were given, in the words of the Lord-Lieutenant, for the purpose of “ gratifying the expectations of gentlemen engaged in the service of Government ”—is the following entry :—

“ The Viscount Erne created Earl of Erne.”

The Earl of Erne and his family were eager to take advantage of the Union, and to wade knee-deep in the

general corruption of that period. The Earl of Erne was made an Irish representative peer, and obtained £15,000 compensation for the disfranchisement of "his" borough of Lifford. His two sons, Abraham Creighton (afterwards the second earl) and John Creighton voted at first against the Union when that measure was defeated in 1799, and subsequently for that measure in 1800.

The following entries in the "Red and Black Lists" of Sir Jonah Barrington show the methods of their conversion:—

"'Red List': 30. Hon. A. Creighton changed sides and became a Unionist (see 'Black List,' 31); Hon. J. Creighton changed sides (see 'Black List'). 'Black List': 38 and 39. Hon. A. Creighton and Hon. J. Creighton renegaded (see 'Red List'), privately purchased."

The present Earl of Erne, whose father was created a Peer of the United Kingdom as Baron Fermanagh in 1876, voted against Home Rule on September 9, 1893.


## XLIX.

### *VISCOUNT CLIFDEN.*

JAMES AGAR was a typical Irish political jobber. He had large estates in the county Kilkenny, which he "represented" for many years in the Irish Parliament. He also was the fortunate possessor of two pocket boroughs, which he farmed to the best advantage. He obtained high official situations in Ireland for himself by a careful disposition of his Parliamentary influence. One brother became a Commissioner of the Customs, another brother, Charles, became Bishop of Cloyne, Archbishop of Cashel, Archbishop of Dublin, Baron and Viscount Somerton, and Earl of Normanton. A sketch of the career of this prelate, who was a devout worshipper at the shrine of corruption, and the methods by which he enriched himself by the impoverishment of the Irish Church, has appeared in this series. James Agar's elevation to the peerage dates from the year 1776, when he was one of eighteen members of the Irish House of Commons who were created peers simultaneously in consideration of a pledge to support the Government by their votes in the House of Lords and by their substitutes and influence in the House of Commons. Agar, whose title was Baron Clifden, kept his

engagement so faithfully that four years later the Lord-Lieutenant recommended his advancement in the peerage. "Lord Clifden," writes Lord Buckingham to Lord North, the Prime Minister, in 1780, "Lord Clifden has long and faithfully served the Crown." He is accordingly made, in January, 1781, Viscount Clifden for his zeal in opposing the policy of Mr. Grattan. Besides providing for his brothers, Viscount Clifden wished to see his eldest son saddled on the public funds. Accordingly, in 1785, this gentleman became clerk of the Irish Privy Council, a post which he held till the Union, when he received a pension of £1,354 per annum as compensation for the abolition of his office, which was, of course, a sinecure. He succeeded his father in the peerages in 1789, and at the Union received the enormous sum of £30,000 compensation for the disfranchisement of "his" two nomination boroughs.

The second Viscount Clifden did not become an Irish representative peer; that honour was begged by him for his uncle, the Archbishop, on whom it was conferred. Lord Clifden had been from 1793 a member of the English House of Commons, where he sat for the rotten borough of Heytesbury. He entered the British House of Lords in 1802, on the death of his maternal uncle, Welbore Ellis, on whom a British peerage had been conferred in 1794, with special limitations to the children of his sister. Welbore Ellis, who was created Baron Mendip, was the son of a Bishop of Meath who enriched his family at the expense of his diocese. The name of his son, Welbore Ellis, the first Baron Mendip, is stated by Sir George Trevelyan in his "Life of Fox" to be "a proverb for a hack placeman throughout the



half-century when hack placemen went for most in English history." He was chiefly noted for his puny opposition in Parliament to the popular aspirations associated with the Wilkes agitation, having in one of his letters implored the King to ask himself whether it was for his interest or his honour to live in perpetual disagreement with his people, "merely to preserve such a chain of beings as North, Weymouth, Welbore Ellis, and Sandwich," whose very names formed a satire upon all government.

The present Viscount Clifden, as Baron Mendip, voted against the Home Rule Bill on the 9th of September, 1893.

L.

*VISCOUNT DONERAILE.*

IN 1776 Mr. Lecky tells us a step was taken by the English Government in Ireland which in England would probably have been followed by an impeachment. The simultaneous creation of twelve peers in order to secure a majority was justly regarded as one of the worst acts of the Tory Ministry of Anne, but it was now far surpassed. Eighteen Irish peers were created in a single day, and seven barons and five viscounts were at the same time raised a step in the peerage. The terms of the bargain were well known to be an engagement to support the Government by their votes in the House of Lords, and by their substitutes and their influence in the House of Commons (Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," iv. p. 441).

One of the eighteen new peers thus created in a single day was a Mr. St. Leger Aldworth, who sat for the pocket borough of Doneraile in the county Cork. He was elevated to the peerage of Ireland on the 2nd of July, 1776, as Baron Doneraile of Doneraile. Four years afterwards a confidential letter of Lord Buckingham, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to Lord North, the Prime Minister of England, recommends Lord

Doneraile for advancement in the peerage as "the zealous friend of his Majesty's Government." "Lord Doneraile's two sons," writes the Viceroy in 1780, "have given their support in the House of Commons." The two sons sat for the pocket borough of Doneraile, and did the work of the Castle in the House of Commons, while their father co-operated with them in the same service, which at this period was the obstruction of Mr. Grattan's policy in the House of Lords.

In 1800 the second Viscount Doneraile received the sum of £15,000 as compensation for the loss of his property by the disfranchisement of the nomination borough of Doneraile, which had been so valuable an aid in obtaining for him peerages as the rewards of corruption.

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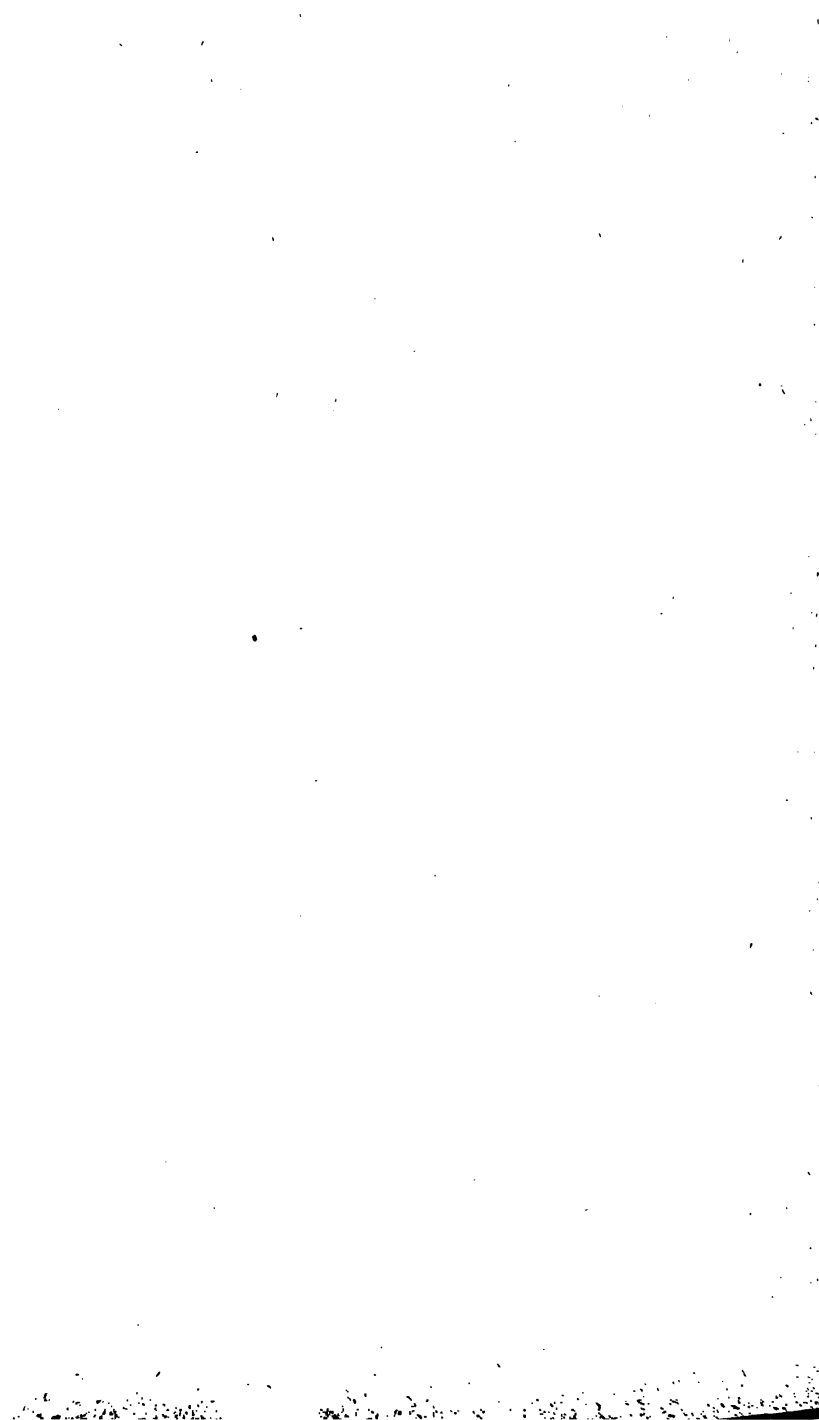
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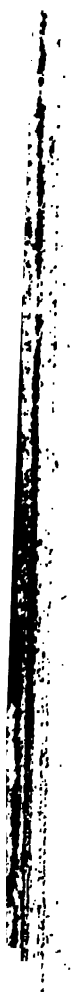
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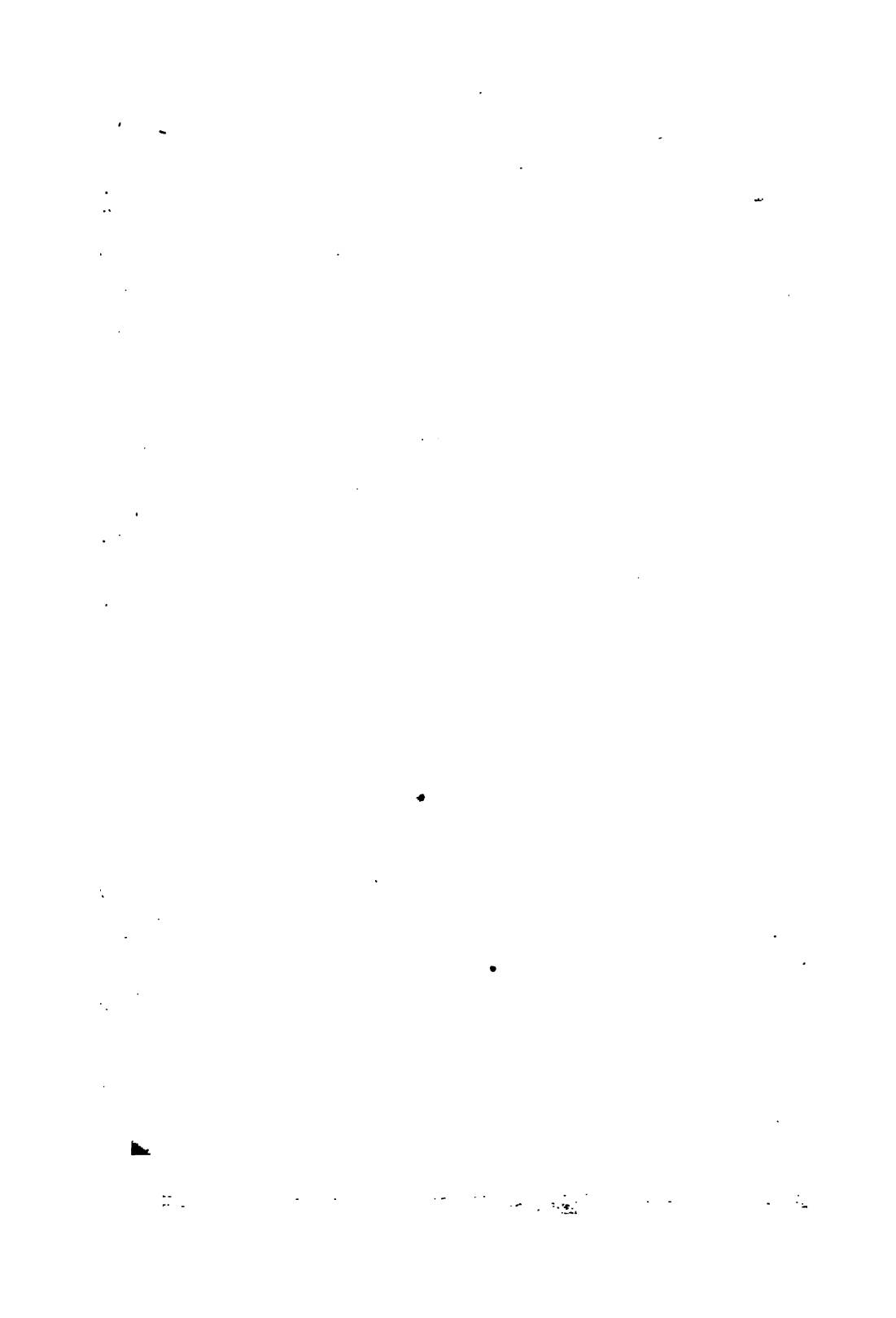
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